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Paper

Child Care and Division of Work between Men and Women

WORC Paper 99.01.001/6

**Anália Cardoso Torres
Francisco Vieira da Silva**

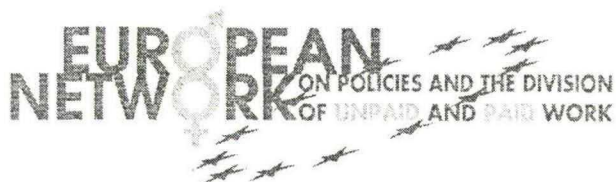
CENTRO DE INVESTIGAÇÃO E ESTUDOS DE SOCIOLOGIA
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Child Care and Division of Work Between Men and Women

Anália Cardoso Torres

Francisco Vieira da Silva

Preface



This report, written by Anália Cardoso Torres and Francisco Vieira da Silva, presents the results of an extensive survey that was conducted in the greater Lisbon area. It forms part of a larger national Portuguese research project, which is carried out in the context of the European Network on Policies and the Division of Unpaid and Paid Work.

Previously the following papers and reports written by members of the Network were published by WORC:

Frinking, G.A.B. & Willemsen, T.M. (1996). Travail et Famille dans les Pays de l'Union Européenne. Le Rôle des Politiques Etude Méthodologique. Tilburg: WORC paper 96.12.022/6.

Willemsen, T.M. (1997). European Network on Policies and the Division of Unpaid and Paid Work. Survey Questionnaire. Tilburg: WORC paper 97.07.003/6.

Barrère-Maurisson, M.-A. & Frinking G.A.B. (1997). The impact of Policies on the Division of Labour: A New Approach. Tilburg: WORC paper 97.10.013/6

Miettinen, A. (1997). Women in Europe. Data on Demographic Factors, Economic Activity, Education and Related Issues in Selected European Countries. Tilburg: WORC paper 97.10.014/6

Vossen, A.P., Frinking, G.A.B. & Willemsen, T.M. (1997). De invloed van overheidsmaatregelen op de verdeling van betaalde en onbetaalde arbeid binnen huishoudens: De visie van deskundigen. Verslag van een pilot study. Tilburg: WORC paper 97.12.016/6

Willemsen, T.M. & Frinking, G.A.B. (Eds.). (1998). The role of social partners in the redivision of paid and unpaid work, an international comparison. Tilburg: WORC report 98.05.002/6

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Introduction

Two main facts constituted the starting point for a research project on social policies and socio-educational and child care facilities in the Greater Lisbon area. The first fact was that Portugal is one of the countries in the European Union with the greatest number of working mothers, and is also the country where mothers work longer hours¹. In contrast, the second, was the fact that Portugal's public socio-educational and childcare services are among the most limited in the European Union².

In several European countries, the rate of full-time professional activity for mothers of small children tends to be associated with an extensive network of public or State-subsidised socio-educational services, as is the case of France, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. When this type of service is scarce, it is more common for mothers not to work outside the home, to stop working altogether or to work part-time, as in other Southern European countries or in Germany and England. Portugal appears to be a special case from this point of view, and it would be logical to ask the question: *who do the children stay with while the parents work outside the home?*

The answers which have been found to explain this particular characteristic in Portugal suggest the existence of family networks - and family networks generally mean specifically grandmothers³ - which substitute the mother or scarce public services for the care of children. Nevertheless, the results of this research suggest that this conclusion cannot be drawn, at least in the Greater Lisbon area. It is definitely resources outside the family, such as crèches, child minders, kindergartens, extra-curricular school activities, elementary schools or leisure centres, which are used as the main socio-educational and childcare solution when mothers work outside the home. We also have reason to believe that the same tends to happen with children over the age of 2 in urban, more densely populated areas of the country.

¹ Table presented at the end of the text.

² Table presented at the end of the text.

³ Two examples which affirm the fundamental role of help from the family for child care, and where it is affirmed that family help plays a fundamental role for childcare: "(...) Il est également fréquent de compter sur les grands-parents et autres membres de la famille dans des pays tels que la France, la Grèce, l'Italie et L'Espagne. Au Portugal, la garde de 50% des enfants de trois à six ans et de 85% des enfants de moins de trois ans est assurée par ces moyens." in (Observatoire Européen des Politiques Familiales, 1996:118). "(...) Beaucoup d'enfants de moins de 3 ans, sont gardés d'une façon informelle par les grand-mères ou les voisines. La garde formelle, pour ce groupe d'âge, est assumée par des crèches, des "amas" et des crèches familiales (Penha, 1993)." (Willemsen et al., 1995:161).

Therefore, the high rate of professional activity among mothers with small children, which is one of Portugal's specific features, is not explained by the persistence of extended family networks. As the network of Public or State-subsidised services is small and its distribution unbalanced both locally and regionally⁴, socio-educational and childcare solutions have been found which have been paid for by the families themselves and have been circumstantial alternatives rather than real options. This apparently inevitable situation has numerous consequences. It was precisely the burden of these expenses in the family budget and other costs such as tiredness and guilty feelings about the difficulties of reconciling work and family life that the people studied talked about most.

Basically organised to answer this question, the research strategy used also sought to discover other dimensions of practices and representations in family life. The most important areas of analysis included topics such as the diversity of socio-educational and child care solutions adopted, opinions about the same, existing support from the family network, the professional occupation of the members of the family and their views on the same, the way the children are brought up and the housework is divided and their attitude on current social policies. A questionnaire⁵ generally designed to answer these questions was the main instrument used for the research.⁶

The research hypothesis expected that conditions of existence in the broader sense of the word⁷, would influence the childcare solutions adopted by the families. In this sense, we

⁴ Inadequate supply in relation to demand is also found for existing public services. In fact, due to the dynamic of rapid demographic growth, there are areas where existing services close - which is the case of the old centre of the big cities and in some rural regions - while in other areas, the large majority of the more populated areas around the big cities, they become dramatically more scarce. There are social policy measures which attempt to regulate this situation but which are still very recent (1998).

⁵ The connection to the project in the European network "Social Policies and the Division of Paid and Unpaid Labour" which suggested applying to a financing programme launched by the Ministries of Solidarity and Social Security and Science and Technology to carry out research for a short period of 1 year. The research was co-ordinated by Anália Cardoso Torres, with the participation of the researchers José Luís Castro, Francisco Vieira da Silva, Sofia d'Aboim Inglez and Pedro Vasconcelos, and took place at the CIES/ISCTE - Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa, between November 1996 and November 1997. The questionnaire was applied to a statistical sample which was representative of the whole population resident in the 7 municipalities of the Greater Lisbon area: Lisbon, Amadora, Cascais, Sintra, Oeiras, Vila Franca de Xira and Loures. 493 domestic groups with at least one child under the age of 11 in their charge on the 31st November 1997 were studied by a team from the Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE),

⁶ Some of the questions in the questionnaire were drawn from another questionnaire which was being drawn up at the time by members of the European network "Social policies and the Division of Paid and Unpaid Labour", Jan Kunzler, Anália Torres, Tineke Willemsen, Gerard Frinkling, Haris Symeonidou and Rossela Pallomba, to be applied in various countries within the context of the network.

⁷ Of note is P. Bourdieu's particular understanding of the concept of conditions of existence. Also considered were objective conditions of existence, in addition to resources in different types of capital, characteristics such as sex, age and generational context. These are the characteristics which, in conjunction with the different types

expected to find different forms of childcare and differentiated underlying perspectives for both socio-educational questions and for the dimensions of family life which the research sought to discover. The study of existing social policies in this area in Portugal was one of the other aspects of the research⁸. The research also had a comparative dimension, by systematically analysing measures developed in the EU countries for childcare, as shown in the tables at the end of the text.

Before going on to the analysis of the results obtained in the research, some general data on the population studied should be mentioned. First of all, it makes sense to underline the fact that the specific tendencies already known for the morphology and composition of families in the Greater Lisbon area have been confirmed. We found that the families in question were of small dimension, with an average of 4 members. It was seen that 42% of the people studied had two children, 36% only had one and 16% intended to have more children⁹. Nuclear families were predominant, with a low percentage of one-parent families in European terms. Of the groups studied, 87% were composed of *couples with children*, 12% of *mothers with children* and 1% of *fathers with children*. It was a relatively young population, which was to be expected from the sample, with an average age of 38, 34 being the modal age. Of the people studied 82% were active professionally, of whom 91% were men and 74% women.

The results that provided information about the resources and living conditions of the families led us to conclude that this is a population with low incomes and a low average level of education. The vast majority of the domestic groups (68%) had a maximum income of 250,000 escudos per month, while 38% had a monthly income of below 150,000 escudos.¹⁰ The same happened for levels of academic competence: 55% of the population had only completed elementary schooling¹¹, 24% secondary schooling and 21% higher education. These values, particularly those referring to higher education, are higher than the national total, confirming existing information about the specific characteristics of the Greater Lisbon

of capital, have a direct or indirect influence, not only on practices - in this case for childcare and education - but also on the use of existing policies or even opinions and expectations on general family life.

⁸ For this purpose, interviews were held with privileged informants who were representatives of official organisations directly or indirectly responsible for drawing up or implementing these types of policies and the representatives of private social welfare institutions.

⁹ Of these 16%, the vast majority (89%), mainly those with one child, wanted one more, 10% wanted two more and 1% wanted three more.

¹⁰ Larger families were found in the lower income sector (up to 150,000 escudos per month) - 37% of these groups had 5 members or more. In the remaining income groups, this percentage was below 20% except in the high income sector where 26% were families with 5 members or more.

¹¹ 29% of the population studied has had only 4 years of schooling, formerly the compulsory period of elementary education, which is now 9 years.

area compared to the rest of the country - information which is reinforced in our sample by the fact that it refers to a sub-group of the younger population. The highest percentages of one-parent families, children born out of wedlock, civil marriages and divorces were therefore found in this region¹². On the other hand, in the region of Lisbon and Vale do Tejo, there was a lower percentage of complex families and the average size of families was smaller. The rates of female professional activity for mothers with small children were among the highest in the country and the fertility rate was among the lowest (Almeida, A. N., et. al, 1998).

It should also be emphasised that this research describes the reality of a population of about 2 million inhabitants, and within this population, a sub-group with at least one child up to the age of 11 in their charge - which is still a universe of more than 205 thousand children in about 156 thousand family groups.

1. The predominance of solutions outside the family

1.1 Crèches and child minders up to the age of two, nursery schools, kindergartens, and leisure centres after that

As shown in Table 1, when mothers had a job, which was the situation of a great majority of the people studied (68%), the child care solutions most frequently chosen were always outside the family. It is found therefore that the group of children up to the age of 2 is covered less by the public services and it could be thought that family solution would be used more, but the solutions chosen most often were in fact the “crèche”¹³ and the “child minder”¹⁴. The “crèche” was chosen most often for this age group (33%) though the “child minder” solution came close (29%). Between the ages of 3 and 5, the “Kindergartens” were the option of the majority (68%). Outside regular school hours, the Leisure Centres¹⁵ and extra-curricular

¹² According to data from the 1991 Census, the percentage of groups composed of mothers with children under the age of 11 was 8.4% in the Greater Lisbon area and 6.4% in the whole of mainland Portugal, and the percentage of groups composed of fathers with children was 1.2% in the Greater Lisbon area and 0.7% in mainland Portugal. Also remember that of all the families studied, 12% were groups of mothers with children and 1% were fathers with children.

¹³ Socio-educational services which take in children from 3 months to 2 years of age (inclusive) during a daily period when the parents are prevented from being present for professional or other reasons.

¹⁴ People with or without specific training in childcare, who do not usually work in any institution and who are paid to look after children in their home for the period during which the parents are unable to do so.

¹⁵ Leisure Centres (CATL's) - establishments which take in children of elementary school age for part of the day, particularly during periods after-school hours and at other times available.

school activities were the solutions chosen by 43% of the people studied for children between the ages of 6 and 10.

Table 1 Socio-educational and child care adopted by the domestic groups studied in which the women have a job (in percentage)

Who does the child stay with when the parents work outside the home?	Idade da criança		
	0 – 2	3 – 5	6 – 10
Mother, father or both	18	6	19
Grandparents	16	15	19
Crèche, Nursery School, Kindergarten, Extra Curricular School Activities, Leisure Centres	33	68	43
Child minder	29	8	8
Alone	-	-	8
Other situation outside the family	2	-	4
Other family situations	2	3	7
Total	100	100	100

Note: Other situations outside the family = stays with the *domestic employee*, *boarding school*, *stays in the street with other children*, *stays at the parent's place of work*. Other family solutions = *staying with siblings*, *staying with other family relations other than grandparents*, *staying with a friend of the parents*, *staying with neighbours*..

Paid solutions outside the family, as in the case of *childminders*, are more important in the under 2 age group ¹⁶ - 15% at this age, compared to 7% in the 3 to 5 age group and 1% in the 6 to 10 age group. Though associated with the insufficient provision of other services, the greater use of *childminders* may also be related to the fact that it is a more economically accessible solution which is closer to the families than crèches, and kindergartens which, as will be seen below, may or may not be State-subsidised. The number of hours needed for childcare also appears to be an important factor for choosing options, in so far that childminders work longer hours on average than public or private crèches (*childminders* 8h30m; crèches 7h30m).

The use of *domestic employees* is another form of childcare, but one which is rarely used as a main solution. It is only found in 1% of cases, and is associated with higher income sectors. Nevertheless, when used as a complementary solution - e.g. after school hours or when the childcare services are closed - the proportion increases to 9%.

¹⁶ It is thought that for children under the age of three, childminders are probably the form of childcare which is used in countries like Portugal, France, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, Norway and Luxembourg. Great exceptions, where this form of childcare appears to be used very little for any age group are Greece, Italy and Spain. The term "formal" is used here to exclude unpaid childcare by family members and friends.

Though also less significant, it was possible to identify other solutions. Of particular note is the situation where the child stays at home alone, which is the case of 8% of children between the ages of 6 and 10. Given the delicate nature of this question, it is presumed that the answers received are underestimated, but this value is still important as it is indicative of a possibly difficult situation.¹⁷ It is also worth stressing that it was found that the majority of children who attended compulsory schooling known to cover only part of the day, did not attend any other type of establishment. Comparing declarations about what would be ideal for this age with declarations about what actually happens, it was found that the majority would like their children to attend leisure centres or similar institutions. But what seems to happen is that the provision of this kind of service appears to be very limited. And when it does exist, it is often costly. This is perhaps the reason why children are alone.

It was found that options which are based on the family network and particularly on grandparents were used less often than expected, and less than indicated up to the present time by previous work¹⁸. They represented the main childcare situation in only 15 to 19% of cases, depending on the age of the children (Table 1).

Though the figures were lower than expected, in-depth analysis led to the conclusion that they could be understood and explained by considering the interaction of the different factors and the present scenario in the Greater Lisbon area. Firstly, some of the people studied could not use the help of family members for practical reasons, given that 35% of the domestic groups did not have direct ascendants living in the Greater Lisbon area¹⁹.

Secondly, it must be remembered that, the group of people with ascendants living in the same region may not be able to use the grandparents for childcare tasks for various reasons²⁰. The grandparents may live some distance away in the same region or be prevented from regularly helping their children and grandchildren for other reasons. One of these reasons may be the fact that they work professionally themselves when their grandchildren are

¹⁷ Note that there were possible answers of staying with siblings or staying with other children.

¹⁸ National research conducted at the end of the 80's with children of 4 years of age only, found that around 30% of grandparents took care of the children (Bairrão et al., 1989); in other research limited to the district of Coimbra which analysed children between the age of 4 and 11 months, it was concluded that 35% of these children with working mothers were looked after by family members (Portugal, 1995).

¹⁹ It was found that only 65% and 59% of the people studied had parents and in-laws living in the Greater Lisbon area, though not necessarily in the same municipality.

²⁰ In most cases "grandparents" means grandmothers, and particularly maternal grandmothers, as it has been found that support for the care of the children is essentially matrilineal. It was the mothers who said most that they used the occasional help of their mother, answering that they did so "often or always" in 42% of cases, while the men said so in 26% of cases. This confirms answers about help from in-laws. More men said that they used the help of mother-in-laws (30% compared to 10% of women).

small. In fact, data from the 1991 population census show that many women at an age to be a grandparent still work outside the household. The rate of professional activity for women between the ages of 45 and 49 was 55% in mainland Portugal. In the Greater Lisbon area, this figure was 68%, falling to 54% for the 50 to 54 age group and to 38% for the 55 to 59 age group. In addition to those who were unable to provide support, were others who were able to do so but did not consider it to be the ideal solution. This was a group of considerable size, given that very few people chose grandparents as the ideal solution for children of all ages,²¹ obviously not including the grandparents who were not willing to provide support or who did not think it was suitable to assume a role which involved so much commitment. In fact, taking care of children involves systematic commitment and availability, conditions which are difficult to fulfil.

Of a completely different nature is the complementary support which grandparents can provide for other socio-educational and childcare solutions. In fact, more mutual support was given for tasks such as bringing the child to and from the crèche or kindergarten, giving meals or staying with the child for part of the day. The number of people who said that grandparents were the secondary solution for childcare increased slightly to 20%²² and those who declared that they left the children with the grandparents during the holidays or when the childcare services were not operating also increased to 34%²³. These data converged with those obtained in recent studies carried out in Belgium (Bawin-Legros e T. Jacobs, 1995).²⁴

Therefore, it is not possible to confuse complementary support which involves a small part of the population with solutions which can be called structural, or rather, the use of grandparents as a form of childcare which substitutes the parents or services which are lacking. Information resulting from research on the situation in other countries also contributes to a better understanding of this problem.

It is known that help between generations and exchanges between parents and adult children are intensified when there are young children (Roussel, 1976; Pitrou, 1978). Systematic or occasional childcare may be a form of this exchange. Using the data from various studies in France in the mid 70's, it is possible to calculate that about 30% of children

²¹ The care of children by the grandparents is only considered to be the ideal solution for children up to the age of 2 by 4% of the people studied, for the 3 to 5s by 2% and for the 6 to 10s by 4%.

²² Help from grandparents as a "second solution" or "complementary solution" is as follows by age group: 23% up to 2; 26% from 3 to 5 and 14% from 6 to 10.

²³ An identical figure for the three age groups of the children considered.

²⁴ This study analysed different aspects of intergenerational relationships and concluded that the grandparents

were left with their grandparents while the mothers worked²⁵. Nevertheless, the general scenario in which these exchanges of services took place was very clear. On the one hand, it was at this time that a general tendency began for children to attend what was called the “maternal school” from the age of 2. Childcare problems were therefore particularly severe up to this age. On the other hand, because these situations could create an excessively dependent relationship between parents and married children, they were often experienced as a lesser evil²⁶ and not as a satisfactory solution. Since then services for the care of infants and young children have developed significantly (Commaille, 1993), and grandparents are now used less as a structural solution. In spite of these changes, they still provide complementary help for small children. The express meaning of these exchanges tends to be increasingly sentimental rather than the mere systematic provision of services. Changes are found in the content and meaning of family solidarity (Attias-Donfut, 1995:12).

In the Greater Lisbon area, there was also a small minority of mothers who worked and were able to use the help of their mothers as a structural childcare solution. But most mothers did not have this help, either because it was impossible or because it was not what they really wanted. In fact the desire for autonomy and independence from ascendants was associated with the perception of the need to use specialists for bringing up children. As will be seen below, the answers of the people studied indicated precisely this when asked about ideal solutions or the reasons for choosing solutions like crèches, kindergartens and other types of similar institutions, particularly when concerning children over the age of 3.

In brief, in the greater Lisbon area, due to various factors, socio-educational and childcare solutions that are paid and outside the family are the most common situation. Nevertheless, the scarcity of services, and their cost, the income level or the position of the woman in her occupation may impose specific choices which differ from the general tendency.

occasionally participated in childcare tasks in 35% of cases.

²⁵This figure of 30% is calculated from the following results: Roussel (1976:97), says that one third of children under the age of 1 stay with the grandparents; Agnès Pitrou (1978:81), in other research, concludes that one in three women who work and have young children leave them in the care of their mother or grandmother. Martine Segalen (1993:97), from other research, says that 27% of children of school age (over the age of 2) stay with their grandmothers on Wednesdays, the day of the week when the childcare services are closed.

²⁶ *“les enquêtes montrent que les jeunes parents préféreraient le mode de garde régulier des crèches à la garde familiale; mais devant l’insuffisance des places, le recours familial apparaît comme la moins mauvaise et*

1.2 Radical change in one generation

One aspect which should be emphasised in the results presented here also concern the great changes which have taken place in the country, in a relatively short period of time, for the care, education and socialisation of children. Comparing the solutions adopted for their children with those of their parents in the past from a diachronic point of view, a radical change in trend is noticed. In just one generation, it was found that the predominant socio-educational and child care solutions had changed from parental solutions to paid solutions outside the family. This is therefore one of the indicators which show the transformations which have taken place in Portugal for the organisation and management of family life, and for the relationship of the family with the professional activities of its members

In fact, judging from our results, childcare and education services outside the family were practically non-existent in the Greater Lisbon area only two or three decades ago. This type of childcare service only assumed some importance in the 3 to 5 age group and even then accounted for only 9% of cases. The use of childcare solutions such as grandparents was also very infrequent (0-2 years old, 9%; 3-5 years old, 8%; 6-10 years old, 7%). Staying with the mother was the modal situation at all ages considered (0-2; 76% 3-5, 69%; 6-10. 62%).

This is a very significant change, which is essentially due to the entry of women in the labour market in large numbers. The most revealing indicator of the transformations which have taken place is the increase from 9 to 55% of people who choose kindergartens and nurseries for children in the 3 to 5 age group. In the same way, the use of crèches increased from 1% to 24% and the childminder solution from 3% to 15% for children from 0 to 2 years old. The use of leisure centres also increased (though less) from 1% to 9%, and extra-curricular school activities increased from 10% to 14%. Also of note is the fact that grandparents have begun to play a relatively more active role in childcare. In one generation their use as the main solution found for childcare increased from 8% to 16%.

New figures have appeared on the scene in the form of institutions for the education and socialisation of children. Socio-educational and childcare tasks are now shared between the family and the education services. This reality, new in itself, symbolises a change from the habits of the past and from a logic of practices passed from generation to generation. Perhaps this is one of the keys to explaining the concerns shown by individuals about socio-

educational tasks, which will be seen later. In fact from now on it will not be possible to use the solutions or orientations of the past to resolve the problems of the present.

2. Family resources, the supply and cost of childcare services

Though the solutions indicated above are general tendencies in situations where mothers are employed in paid jobs, when certain variables are taken into account or when the general population is considered, there are important differences which should be pointed out. Seeking to understand what may contribute to explaining these different choices made by the families, during the research it became clear that there are four factors which, when combined, contribute more directly to the different socio-educational strategies for childcare. These factors are the resources which could be mobilised by the households, particularly their incomes and family networks²⁷, the provision and cost of services, values and representations and the position of the family members in terms of unpaid and paid work. These other aspects will be dealt with below, and at the end of the text will be included in a table.

2.1 Socio-educational and childcare solutions and family incomes

Table 2 shows how modal childcare solutions are distributed among the total population (which includes the mothers who do not have a paid job), according to the family income of the people studied. In general, it was found that as income increased, so did the tendency to use socio-educational and childcare services outside the family for all age groups, while the solution of the mother is represented less, with the exception of the group of children up to the age of 2 in the higher-income sector.

²⁷ The understanding of the resources which can be mobilised may include, not only the income of family unit itself, but also the capacity or possibility of mobilising support networks. The existence of close relations who could be used without payment, represented a kind of “non-cost” or an indirect “entry” of income.

Table 2 Main childcare solutions according to the income of the family unit (modal answer in percentage)

Incomes	Age of the child		
	0 – 2	3 – 5	6 – 10
≤ 150 contos/month	Mother 58	Kindergarten 39	Mother 42
150–250 contos/month	Mother 38	Kindergarten 56	Mother 43
250–350 contos/month	Crèche 42	Kindergarten 61	Mother/Grandparents/School, ATL 31
350–550 contos/month	Mother 33	Kindergarten 71	School, ATL 48
≥ 550 contos/month	Mother 57	Kindergarten 64	School, ATL 39
Total	Mother 43	Kindergarten 53	Mother 37

Note: Modal answer for the youngest child. One conto equals a thousand escudos.

A more detailed analysis of these results found that, for children up to the age of 2 and from 6 to 10 in the *lower income sectors*, mainly parental solutions were adopted, or rather, the child stayed with the mother. In the 3 to 5 age group, socio-educational services such as nursery schools or kindergartens were used more systematically. Another characteristic of these sectors, for children up to the age of 2, was the fact that *childminders* were chosen more than *crèches*, which may be explained by the fact that they are more accessible and less costly²⁸.

When the main solutions were of the family type (mother or grandmother), the reasons given were mainly pragmatic and instrumental: “I don’t have any other alternative” was the most frequent response²⁹, while reasons concerning the children’s well-being were only secondary. The same kind of reasons were given to explain female domesticity in these income groups. In fact, this group basically said that they were housewives because they had not found any compatible employment and/or because it was not worth working outside the home. As it will be seen more clearly below, the “cost” factor of the childcare services and the absence of alternatives contribute towards explaining these positions. For these groups, As Agnès Pitrou found for the working class sectors in France, it is not really possible to talk about choosing the most appropriate childcare solution³⁰.

²⁸ It was found, as will be seen below, that 34% of the people studied in the 150,000 escudo income group and 40% in the 150 to 250,000 escudo income group used childminders.

²⁹ 44% of the people studied in the lower income sectors (up to 150,000 escudos per month) who used family solutions for childcare said that they did so because they had no other alternative, the average for the answer being 32% in all income groups.

³⁰ “(...)tirer argument d’une apparente préférence des familles pour telle ou telle formule de soutien semblerait suggérer qu’elles se trouvent placées devant une choix réel, entre des aides également accessibles, et nous avons vu combien cette supposition est erronée pour une grande partie des familles. Dans leur champ psychologique et matériel, apparait le plus souvent une solution et une seule, celle qu’elles ont à portée de la main et c’est très

While for children up to the age of 2 a paid solution was often impossible to pay or just did not compensate for the family budget (which is why the mother ended up staying at home to look after the children), in the case of older children it was assumed that the answer “stays with the mother” would include many situations where the child actually stayed at home alone. All in all, these data appear to show that these are not really desired solutions, but are mainly due to constraints which are difficult to overcome. A more extensive distribution of these types of services would satisfy the express wishes of the families and could mean a double advantage: for the children, because the use of this type of service has varied positive effects, ranging from sociability to preparation for school, as affirmed by the people studied; and also because this type of socio-educational option enables women to be active in the labour market, thereby improving the income of the household.

For the *middle income sectors*, where the percentage of women who worked professionally was very high - always over 85% - services outside the family were preferred for the care and education of children in all age groups. Crèches, nursery schools, kindergartens, leisure centres and extra-curricular school activities were the solutions used the most.

For the institutional solutions used by these sectors, the same lack of accessibly-priced services, as seen above, was often a problem for these families. The difficulty of finding State-subsidised services, increasingly associated with possibly greater requirements in terms of quality and increased investment in the education of children, meant that private profit-making institutions were found as socio-educational and child care solutions. These are expensive solutions which take significant chunk out of the budget of these domestic groups, as will be seen below.

Related in some way to the difficulty of people in the intermediate income sectors have to find services which are both accessible and fulfil their requirements, may be the fact that the highest percentage of families which used grandparents as the main childcare solution was in the 250,000 to 350,000 escudo income sector (26%). This figure was far higher than that found for all of the other sectors, including the lower income sectors, where the figure was no higher than 18%³¹. It could even be accepted that it was because they had this support

souvent le réseaux familial.” (Pitrou, 1978:221).

³¹ The use of grandparents as a childcare solution, according to the different sectors is as follows in ascending order of income: up to 150,000 escudos - 18%; 150 to 250 - 16%; 250 to 350 - 26%; 350 to 550 - 15%; over 550 - 10%.

from their ascendants that the mothers were more available for integration in the labour market, and therefore increased the financial revenue of the household, bringing it up into this category of income.

The solutions used most by the higher income sectors were identical to those in the middle income sectors for children over 3 years of age - solutions outside the family being used in most cases. For children up to 2 years of age, the solutions seem to be similar to those which are most frequent in the more under-privileged sectors, where the mother tends to take care of the child. However, while the result may be the same, the reasons for such an option are different. While in the lower-income sectors this solution follows a strategy determined by need, in this group it corresponds to a practical application of what is judged to be the ideal model of well-being for the child.³² The socio-educational solutions are close to what could be called real options in as much that they use solutions which they consider to be the ideal ones.

Taking a look now at the solutions which follow the modal solutions, the most varied tendencies are found. For the group of children up to the age of two, crèches and grandparents followed the modal solutions referred to above. In this group, grandparents are represented more in the lower and middle income sectors. In the other sectors, after the modal *mother* solution, the most popular is the crèche, except in the higher income sector, where *grandparents, crèches and childminders* are equally represented. For children between the ages of three and five, the solutions most used after the modal *kindergarten* solution are always of the family type (*mother or grandparents*), regardless of the people's income level. There are some variations for children from 6 to 10. In the lower income sector, *extracurricular school activities* and leisure centres take second place to the modal family type of solutions and the mother is the most indicated secondary solution in the higher income sectors.

³² Considering the reasons given for their choice, within the group of people studied who chose the family for socio-educational and child care solutions (mother, father or grandparents), it was found that in the lower-income groups (up to 150 thousand escudos), the lack of other alternatives was a decisive factor for this choice (44% of cases). On the other hand, as the income level of the family groups increased, the reasons given for the

2.2 Childcare services: supply, cost and geographical distribution

The declarations of the people who use the childcare services showed, as expected, that in the situation presented, private profit-making institutions which are not financed by the State are very important and represent 40% of cases. A very small percentage of services are totally subsidised by the State (9%), State-subsidised institutions representing 51% of the total (subsidised IPSS's, 29% and State-financed profit-making private institutions, 22%).

Analysing the global distribution of childcare solutions according to the income of the households, it was found that in the lower income sector, IPSS's³³ are the most used as a solution (43%). But, in sectors with incomes which are still low (between 150,000 and 250,000 escudos), private solutions, not financed by the State are prevalent. Therefore it can be said that in the middle-to-low income sectors, significant sums are spent on the care and education of children. This is a situation which becomes completely clear when the average cost of the services used are analysed according to the income of the households (Table 3).

An almost immediate reflection of the situation described is found in declarations about satisfaction with the childcare services chosen. The financial cost of this type of service was the aspect which creates the most dissatisfaction. This criticism was more accentuated in the middle income sectors, a situation which is easily understandable. In the higher income sectors there may be fewer financial obstacles to paying for socio-educational services; when incomes were lower and there were services with vacancies in the parents' residential area, their costs were often almost totally subsidised by the Social Security or the IPSS's. Therefore, more participation is required of the parents in the intermediate sectors. On the one hand, the income of these families is not so low that they can be included in the most needy categories, for whom vacancies in subsidised services are a priority while, on the other hand, this income is not enough to enable them to use private services without difficulties.

The best way of confirming what has been said is to give the average price per child that the people studied declared that they paid for this type of institution. The average cost of the childcare services such as crèches, nursery schools, kindergartens and other similar services was around 24,000 escudos and the mode was around 35,000 escudos. It was found that only 44% of the people studied spend up to 20,000 escudos, and the others always spend

choice of family solutions was related to quality of the child care.

³³ Instituições Particulares de Solidariedade Social - Private Social Welfare Institutions .

more than this amount. When families with more than one child are studied, some idea is gleaned of the burden of these expenses for the family budget. Would this constraint have an influence on family planning? Indeed, when asked whether they planned to have more children, only 16% declared that they did. This means that there are many families with only one child and with no intention of adding another child to the family. When asked about their reasons for not wanting more children, in addition to those who either did not want more children or were unable to have more children for health reasons, 45% of the people studied gave economic, social and family reasons.

TABLE 3 Costs of institutional childcare solutions according to the monthly income level of the households (in thousands of escudos)*

Incomes Age group	Average cost				Modal cost			
	0-2	3-5	6-10	Total	0-2	3-5	6-10	Total
≤ 150 contos/month	16.6	11.8	13.1	12.9	0	13.0	0	0
150–250 contos/month	18.6	22.3	21.6	21.3	5.0	32.0	20.0	20.0
250–350 contos/month	24.6	35.8	22.1	28.4	12.2	33.0	4.8	35.0
350–550 contos/month	27.0	30.9	36.9	32.1	35.0	30.0	64.0	35.0
≥ 550 contos/month	37.3	39.8	29.1	35.4	29.0	35.0	6.0	35.0
Total	23.0	24.3	22.9	23.5	35.0	35.0	20.0	35.0

*Answer for the youngest child. Does not include the cost of *childminders*.

The high cost of services such as crèches, combined with their scarcity, may also contribute to explain why people choose *childminders*. In addition to the fact that they are easy to find and offer more flexible hours, *childminders* are also less costly. In fact, 85% of the people studied who used childminders spent up to 20,000 escudos per month for each child, the average price charged being 16,000 escudos per month and the mode 20,000 escudos. However, *childminders* are simply an alternative for children up to the age of 2 and they are not always good alternatives, as few offer guarantees of training or good conditions for performing their functions³⁴.

³⁴ Though training programmes for childminders have been implemented recently, some with the objective of establishing in institutions, and offering them continuous monitoring by a multidisciplinary team, from the results of the research it was possible to confirm that the percentage of childminders in this situation is very small. 86% of the people studied declared that they used unlicensed childminders who were not connected to any institution; 7% were licensed childminders who were not connected to any institution and 7% licensed childminders who were connected to an institution.

Also of note is the geographical distribution of State-subsidised socio-educational services for young children. It was found that the provision of this type of service is distributed in a very unbalanced way in the different municipalities of the Greater Lisbon area. While in some less populated municipalities such as Vila Franca de Xira, these services officially cover more than 40% of the children, in others such as Amadora, Loures or Sintra, which are more densely populated, this cover is not more than 7%, 11% and 12% respectively. Knowing that the increased provision of services is mainly from the IPSS's, which depend on local initiative, it can be understood that these discrepancies are also due, to a great extent, to the different dynamics of the population in terms of initiative³⁵. It is possible that the municipalities and parishes where the services are more necessary, are also the ones where these initiatives are less prevalent. As it is foreseen for the State's public actions to take place essentially through the IPSS's and the local administration, these are factors to be taken into account for this disequilibrium to be corrected in the future.

2.3 Family networks, other resources which are possible to mobilise: those who need the most have the least

The research sought to discover each household's possibility of mobilising family networks, friends and neighbours at special times. For this purpose, the people studied were asked who they had gone to and how often in unforeseen situations in the past, and to whom they thought they would be able to go to and how often in unforeseen day-to-day situations for childcare in the future³⁶.

At first, the results appear to be surprising both for situations which have already been experienced and for hypothetical situations in the future, from the perspective which affirms the existence of intense exchanges between families in terms of guidance and bringing up the children (Table 4).

³⁵ The explanation for these differences, may be found, among other factors, in the fact that, in a municipality like Vila Franca de Xira, there is a greater tradition of associations and trade unions than in other more populated municipalities which have a more recent demographic growth dynamic such as Loures, Sintra and Amadora.

³⁶ The question asked was how frequently they "could use" or "have already used" a group of people from those networks when "*they need help, in an unforeseen situation, for the care of their child(ren) (looking after them, preparing meals, taking them to school, to the doctor, etc.)*".

Table 4 How frequently they have already used different people for support for the care of the children - general distribution (in percentage)

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always	Total
Spouse	26	27	18	29	100
Father	69	19	7	5	100
Mother	50	25	14	11	100
Sibling	73	21	4	2	100
Son/daughter	72	19	7	2	100
In-laws	64	23	9	4	100
Another family member	70	26	3	1	100
Friend	80	19	1	0	100
Neighbour	75	22	2	1	100

According to the table presented above, it was found in general that they could only count on the “spouse” and (to a slightly less extent) the “mother”. Other family members, friends and neighbours are used very rarely. Support “always” came from the spouse in 29% of cases, the men being those who said more often that they have their support (50%) compared to the women (11%), which in itself shows very significant gender differences for child care. Grandmothers were “always” available to take care of the child in these situations in 11% of cases, and were “never” available in 50% of cases.

Given that the distance between the parents’ and the children’s homes is a constraint which determines both the way and how often the family members relate to each other, the idea was to observe the families separately according to the distance between the residences of the two generations. Therefore, despite the general tendency remaining unchanged, the data were reorganised a little when the results were analysed counting only the people with ascendants living in the Greater Lisbon area³⁷. It was declared that they never used the mother’s help in 35% of cases, she was used sometimes in 30% of cases, often in 19% of cases and always in only 16% of cases.

However, the most revealing data on this question, which may have wider implications for social policy, is the relationship between support from older generations for child care in unforeseen situations and the income group concerned. The results obtained contradict the idea that family and neighbour networks tend to be more prevalent in families with more meagre economic resources, and it can be said that the people who may need the most help

³⁷ Though geographical proximity does not determine the closeness of relationships between parents and adult children, it is still a factor which facilitates it, as shown in various studies (Roussel, 1976, Bawin-Legros, 1995). In this case, it was found that 65% and 59% of the people studied had parents and in-laws respectively living in the Greater Lisbon area. Also of note is the fact that distances are relative in the urban and suburban areas and

receive the least.

Table 5 The frequency with which the people studied with ascendants living in the Greater Lisbon area use the help of the mother according to the income of the household (in percentage)

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always	Total
≤ 150 contos/month	40	26	17	17	100
150 – 250 contos/month	39	25	19	17	100
250-350 contos/month	32	34	15	19	100
350-550 contos/month	28	37	28	7	100
>550 contos/month	13	52	22	13	100

In the lower income groups, there were many more people who said they “never” use or only “sometimes” use the mother in a situation of necessity, than those who said they “always” or “sometimes” did. Nevertheless, there appeared to be a smaller but stabilised group of people (about 16-17%) who, similarly to the case of structural childcare solutions, always had the help of ascendants for the socio-educational and childcare tasks and another 17% who said they received help very often.

The answer “sometimes” was clearly the modal answer with higher income sectors which, looking at other options, may mean that these sectors only use this type of support when other types are not available, but it is known that they can be mobilised when necessary. These conclusions follow the same lines drawn above about the tendency for solidarity between the generations to focus more on sentimental exchanges than on the systematic provision of services.

In brief, it can be said that family help networks are less present than might be expected. In addition, most of those who may need this help most are those who receive it the least. These data confirm and even emphasise what was said above. The idea of the family replacing the State for socio-educational and childcare tasks appears to be called into question for the greater Lisbon area.³⁸

depend to a great extent on the transport and resources of the families.

³⁸ The problem of a certain isolation from close relations was confirmed when the people studied were asked whether they believed the statement, “I don’t have help from close relations”. Though there has been less total or partial agreement than disagreement, the statement is supported more by women than men. And again it is in the lower income sectors that the statement is defended more - with 45% of women in the income sectors of up to 150,000 escudos per month agreeing partly or totally with the statement. It is curiously the women and men in the 250 to 350 thousand escudo a month income group who disagree the most with this idea. This is no coincidence. In fact, it was found above that it was this sector which could count most on grandparents to help with childcare.

3. Ideal solutions and the utility of services

3.1 The mother as the ideal solution up to the age of two

Another of the objectives of the research was to find out which socio-educational and childcare solutions were considered ideal by the people studied. Though the positions detected were, in general, relatively clear and consensual, they were totally different for children up to the age of 2 or for children of 3 and over. In the first case, the majority (86%) considered the ideal socio-educational and child care solution was to leave the children with the parents (mother, father or both)³⁹.

When there are no limitations of any kind (financial or otherwise) and, contrary to what presently takes place, parents, and particularly mothers, would prefer to take care of their children themselves during the first two years of life. However, this position does not mean that it is thought that women should stop working outside the home and stay at home with the children. Other opinions expressed, particularly those referring to female professional work or the need for more educational and childcare services, as will be seen, lead to the opinion that the ideal would be to reconcile work and family life. Looking after the children during the first few months (or years) of life is a situation which involves giving up work, which the people studied wanted to take up again once the child was of the age considered appropriate for attending a crèche or kindergarten.

The answers of the people studied were far from an essentially maternal position which placed childcare exclusively in the hands of women, and would make it possible to conclude that the ideal model for children up to the age of 2 tends towards situations similar to those existing in European countries such as Sweden, Norway or Denmark. In fact, in these countries, paid parental leave allows the parents to look after their children for at least 12 months after birth without losing their jobs, as can be seen in Figure 3 at the end of the text.

³⁹ When asked to justify this attitude, 94% of the people studied actually considered that no-one takes care of children as well as the family at these ages.

3.2 Nursery schools, kindergartens and leisure centres from the age of three: desirable as well as useful

For children over the age of 3, 70% of the people studied⁴⁰ said their ideal solutions would be services like nursery schools, kindergartens, elementary schools, etc. Corroborating this position, 95% of the people studied agreed that it is “desirable” for children of this age to attend socio-educational services of this nature to prepare them for school, to communicate with other children and to stimulate their creativity. Solutions such as leisure centres and extra-curricular school activities were equally indicated as ideal by parents for children of school age, during the periods of the day which are not covered by regular school hours.

Though a general consensus was found the ideal situation for the different age groups, the analysis considered some other variables and found slight differences. People with more schooling defended ideal solutions such as crèches, nursery schools or kindergartens much more. Sectors of people with less schooling and lower incomes said services outside the family were ideal, but the choice of family solutions was a little more prevalent than in the previous group. These positions may, in a way, be explained by a tendency which is generally more “familyist” in sectors with less schooling⁴¹.

The data obtained for the advantages of solutions outside the family are clear. Most of the people studied (83%) agreed totally or partly that, when they reach school age, children who have only been cared for by the family find it more difficult to adapt to the school environment. Therefore, studying answers about the utility of socio-educational services for children, it was found that the main function was preparation for school (40% of answers), followed by the stimulation of creativity, imagination and intelligence (24%) and in third place making it possible for children to learn how to relate to other children and adults. Of note was the little importance given to this service’s simple function of taking care of the children. Only 12% of the people studied considered it to be the most important aspect.

⁴⁰ For children between the ages of 3 and 5, in 70% of cases institutional solutions were considered ideal, while family solutions were only chosen as ideal by 27% (Parents: 25%; Grandparents: 2%). For children between the ages of 6 and 10, the ideal childcare solutions indicated were outside the family in 62% of the cases (37% extra-curricular school activities; 25% Leisure Centres) and the parents were indicated in 29% of answers and the “grandparents” in 4%.

⁴¹ The results of other research suggest the same (Almeida, A. N., et al., 1993; Torres, 1996).

Table 6 Opinion on the utility of the socio-educational and childcare services according to the schooling of the people studied (in percentage)

	Elementary Education	Secondary Education	Higher Education	Total
To prepare them for school	52	24	28	40
To take care of them while the parents work or have other activities	16	12	5	12
To stimulate their creativity, imagination and intelligence	13	40	34	24
To make them learn to relate to other children and adults	13	18	27	17
To make them disciplined, respecting and obeying rules and other people	3	3	3	3
To make the child learn things from qualified people that their parents are unable or do not know how to transmit	3	3	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100

Once again, it is possible to find differences in terms of the schooling variable. The perception of the benefits of attending this type of service as a means of preparing for school was more accentuated in the sectors with less schooling and lower incomes which, in some way, reflects its importance as a way of preventing academic failure. The sectors with more schooling and middle to high incomes were more concerned with benefits like the stimulation of creativity and intelligence, probably because they considered that the children were naturally already prepared for school.

It is therefore concluded that the vast majority of the people studied considered that, for children over the age of 3, socio-educational and childcare solutions outside the family are not only useful, but are particularly desirable and advantageous for their socialisation and schooling. People expressed their awareness of the need to share the tasks of socialisation between the family and other educational institutions as if they were inevitable processes of modernity.

The advantages of using this type of service are generally recognised, particularly when they guarantee quality. Of note is the need for more of these services in countries of Europe where they exist, and the lack of them in other countries is lamented. This has in fact been the conclusion of various research projects. A study of the reconciliation of professional and family life, which compared French and English mothers with university education and small children, found that English women showed various types of difficulty and even discomfort, precisely because, contrary to the French mothers, they felt the lack of support

structures which would enable them to harmonise maternity with work (Hantrais, 1990). For a clearer understanding of this problem, see Figure 2 where different types of Welfare State and childcare models in the European Union are compared.

3.3 What is expected from the State: more facilities and greater flexibility at work

The attitudes of the people studied, which were generally favourable to services outside the family, were also confirmed by the expectations they showed for measures to be taken by the State. In fact, expectations in terms of what the State should do to support educational tasks were centred on the provision of more services (24%) and the creation of working conditions which allowed families to use outside support for childcare and education - making working hours flexible, (23%) and creating part-time jobs (19%). The increase of subsidies (15%) or more accessibly priced services (12%) were only mentioned as a second choice. It appears to be even more clear that the majority of families seek a means of reconciling family and professional life.

Some differences arise, however, when the answers are analysed according to the income and schooling of the people studied. Those with higher incomes and higher qualifications give priority to making their working hours more flexible and put increased and improved public childcare services in second place. On the other hand, in the middle income sectors, the people studied lent more importance to the increase and improvement of public childcare services, confirming what has been said about the difficulties they appear to face. The first priority of the people in family units with lower incomes (up to 150,000 escudos) was the creation of part-time jobs for parents with small children, the second priority being increased subsidies, with very little difference between the two in terms of percentage.

Nevertheless, despite this attitude, the families were found to make the very most of any opportunity provided by current policies for their support, particularly the use of legal subsidies and benefits. Taking into consideration the use of the different existing State subsidies, it was found that people generally used the support they were legally entitled to, with the natural exception of the special education subsidy⁴². Family allowances and birth

⁴² Despite the fact that birth, breast-feeding subsidies and family allowances (and also marriage subsidies) have recently been replaced by a "family allowance for children and young people", they were still in force when the research was conducted.

subsidies were the most used (95% and 90% respectively) and, in addition, 71% of the people used maternity and paternity benefit. Given that this subsidy can only be used by workers covered by the Social Security system, it was found that it was used by most people in these situations.

In brief, mothers who work outside the home in the Greater Lisbon area mainly use paid socio-educational and childcare solutions, a situation which represents a radical change from the past, when this dimension of family life remained within the parental framework. Due to a series of different factors and perhaps contrary to what would be expected, family networks function on a very limited basis. The lack of accessible socio-educational services, particularly for middle to low income families, means that solutions are less than ideal and more costly. Socio-educational services are considered to be both useful and desirable for the development of the child, and the State is expected to reinforce or create more childcare facilities. Therefore it is very clear that people want to reconcile the family with work.

4. Family life and paid work : a difficult relationship. Mothers with high rates of professional activity

Returning once again to what was said at the beginning, the results of the questionnaire show a high rate of male professional activity in the total population studied ⁴³. But, as expected, the rate of female activity was also very high (74%)⁴⁴, particularly in the European context, as shown in the Table at the end of the text. The data collected also shows that 24% of the sample were housewives, a situation which will be seen to be distributed unevenly among the social classes.

In general, these results show the great changes which have taken place in Portugal in the fields of work and the family. In effect, there has been an accentuated growth in the female activity rate in the last 15 years⁴⁵. The relationship which has been established between this fact and the change in childcare solutions is obvious. Let us take a look at some of the

⁴³ 86% working; 5% unemployed.

⁴⁴ 68% working; 6% unemployed.

⁴⁵ In the 35-39 age group (the average age of the women being 35), see the increased rate of female activity in Portugal in 15 years: 1981 - 4)%; 1996 - 80%.

specific aspects of the situation of men and women in the labour market.

4.1 Differences between men and women in working life. More women do unskilled work

Confirming known tendencies, it is concluded that, both in the Greater Lisbon area and at national level, the structures of male and female employment show different characteristics. There are various types of differences which include their representation in the different professional categories, continued professional work, secure occupations, the position held within the occupation, the type of integration in the labour market and the income earned⁴⁶. These effects have been called horizontal, vertical and transverse types of segregation of the female employment structure in academic literature (Ferreira, 1993:239).

Differences can immediately be seen in mainland Portugal, manifested in a more even distribution of women among various different occupational groups and a greater concentration of men in certain occupations, a situation which is associated with the fact that the increased participation of women in the labour market has followed in line with changes in employment itself (André, 1993), such as the growth of the services sector, the decline of the primary sector and the retraction of the secondary sector. But other phenomena are present at the same time. On the one hand, there is a greater concentration of female jobs in categories which are often characteristically precarious, badly paid and with poor perspectives in terms of stability, a tendency which can be seen particularly clearly in the Greater Lisbon area. On the other hand, there is a certain prevalence of women in sectors of activity which require good academic qualifications such as the intellectual and scientific professions, though these categories involve far fewer permanent jobs than the former group. Let us look now at the distribution of men and women in the large occupational groups, comparing the results obtained in our sample with the figures found in mainland Portugal for the same age group (Table 7) .

Table 7 Men and Women who are economically active according to the large occupational

⁴⁶ In 1993, the average basic monthly wage for women in mainland Portugal was 76% of the men's (Silva, 1993)

groups: Mainland Portugal/1992⁴⁷ and the Greater Lisbon area/1997 (in percentage)

	Mainland Portugal (1992) (age - 25 to 44)			Greater Lisbon (1997) (Research sample)		
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total
Directors and Executive Staff	11	8	9	11	5	8
Intellectual and scientific professions	9	11	10	12	14	13
Intermediate technical professions	11	14	13	13	14	13
Administrative staff	9	17	13	12	20	16
Commercial and services staff	11	19	15	15	16	15
Farm workers and fishermen	3	5	4	-	-	-
Production and transport workers	41	16	29	33	5	20
Unskilled workers	5	10	7	5	27	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Comparing men and women in mainland Portugal, note that women are distributed among the different professional groups, and that their modal occupation - commercial and services staff, 19% - is close to those which follow - administrative staff, 17% and production and transport workers, 16%. Men, on the other hand, are more concentrated in certain areas, more permanent workers being clearly found in the category of *production and transport workers* (41%).

Now the data on mainland Portugal will be compared with those obtained from our sample for the Greater Lisbon area. When compared to all men and women, the values go down for the professional categories such as *production and transport workers* and slightly, for *directors and executive staff*, but go up, also slightly, for all the others, except for the group of *unskilled workers*, which increases more significantly. This comparison becomes more relevant when what happens to men and women is considered. In fact, in the former case, no great changes are found except for the decrease of *production and transport workers* and the corresponding slight increase in all activities related to existing services in the big city and also the already indicated *intellectual and scientific professions*; i.e. the structure changes very little. The situation is different when the female categories are analysed. There is a real transfer of permanent staff. *Unskilled workers* increase almost three times and the percentage of *production and transport workers* falls very significantly. The most significant increase is found precisely in the precarious and poorly paid occupational categories.

⁴⁷ The data on mainland Portugal for the year 1992 is from the INE, but have been taken from J. F. Almeida. et al., (1994:307-330).

Though there are not many permanent workers in the *intellectual and scientific professions* and among *administrative staff*, there are more women than men in these categories, both in mainland Portugal and in the Greater Lisbon area. Though it is true that the greater representation of women as *administrative staff* does not necessarily mean more qualifications, the higher percentage of women in the intellectual and scientific professions may be associated with the fact that there is less segregation of the sexes in the education system (Ferreira, 1993). It is found in fact that there is a lack of consistency between equal opportunities in the education system and access to employment.

Nevertheless, the most important fact in female employment, when going from mainland Portugal to the Greater Lisbon area, is the increase of unskilled work and not so much the increase of more educated professions. This is therefore a sign that the supply of jobs is centred on multiple activities, connected to the services sector, which do not represent careers, but just a financial contribution to the domestic group.

The continuity of professional activity is another factor which differs between men and women⁴⁸. Though the interruption of professional activity is generally very reduced, women are definitely affected the most. Perhaps one of the most important facts found is that dismissal is the main reason why both men and women stop working⁴⁹, leading to the conclusion that people generally stop working because of the logic of employment itself rather than the logic of the family.⁵⁰

The weak representation of women in part-time work is another indicator to be taken into account. Contrary to other countries in the European Union, where increased female participation in employment corresponds to an increase in part-time work, in Portugal this type of work is of little importance for female activity (13%). Also, although more women

⁴⁸ In fact, 79% of men declared that they had never stopped working and 63% of women said the same. 17% and 20% of women respectively said they had stopped working once or twice, only 11% and 10% of men being found in the same cases. It was also found that more people stopped working in the sectors with less schooling and lower incomes.

⁴⁹ From the broad range of reasons which could explain why people stop working, answers concentrated on dismissal, both for men (54%) and women (46%). The remaining options were: "the hours were incompatible with family life" (M-11%; W-17%); "it wasn't worth working outside the home" (0%), "my children are better off with me looking after them" (M-2%; W-15%); "chose to be a housewife" (0%) and "other answers" (M-33%; W-22%).

⁵⁰ Seeking to discover the relationship between the number of children and giving up work, it was found that having one or two children did not mean a career path would be abandoned. Nevertheless, though 62% of the women studied said that the birth of children had not caused any changes to their professional activity, 11% had stopped working permanently and 11% had temporarily suspended their professional activity.

have part-time jobs, in Portugal⁵¹, this fact is probably explained more by constraints inherent to this kind of work than to real options. Therefore, part time jobs are not necessarily a solution for a better relationship between family and professional life. Working fewer hours may mean a lower wage, and the job may no longer be worthwhile in terms of the profits and losses it represents for the household. This type of work is associated with fairly unskilled professional integration and precarious employment (André, 1993). In fact, people with fewer school qualifications feel more insecure in their job, earn less and work more part-time.

Women who do not work outside the household can be found in well-defined socio-professional groups. There are more housewives among women who are married to manual workers. Two hypotheses may explain this situation. The former is related to the binomy formed by professional integration of these manual workers and the cost of childcare services. It is possible that this integration is stable, permitting the development of strategies which make female domesticity possible and pragmatic. Given that socio-educational services are very costly and that these women often have poor academic and professional skills, working outside the home may not be worthwhile⁵². Another, possibly complementary hypothesis is that there is still a more traditional view of the role of women as housewives and mothers in these sectors, a conclusion which can be drawn from the analysis of other answers.

There is also a relatively high number of housewives in the socio-professional group of *directors and executive staff*. On the one hand, these can be the people who that the child should be accompanied by the mother at a certain age and, in this case thought, domesticity would be a real choice, though possibly a temporary one. On the other hand, these are also the people with certain more traditionalist attitudes towards the division of work between spouses.

On the contrary, the domesticity rate is lower among women married to unskilled workers. Given the unstable and precarious economic situation of this socio-professional group, it is possible that the female wage would become the extra income which is vital for the survival of these households. Housewives are also almost completely unrepresented in the

⁵¹ Only 3% of the men studied worked part-time, compared to 13% of the women.

⁵² In fact, if the reasons for domesticity are analysed according to the level of schooling, it is found that the explanations presented, particularly by those with basic schooling, were based on “not managing to get a job” or “not being worth working outside the home”, pragmatic and economic reasons – as seen above - and only 16% said they were housewives by “option”. In their turn, at secondary schooling level, “choice” was given as the justification for domesticity for the majority, which, in a certain way, indicates a higher income level for the households. Even so, 21% continued to indicate the fact that paid work outside the home did not compensate strategically in terms of maximising the family resources.

group of *intellectual and scientific professions*, the *intermediate technical professions* and *administrative staff*. They all tend to form a populational contingent characterised by the double professionalisation.

This distribution can be found in another way. As shown in Table 8, housewives are not found to have completed higher education. Confirming what was said above, most housewives have only been completed elementary education and are located in the lower income sectors.

Table 8 Percentage of housewives according to level of education

Housewives	
Education	%
Elementary school	34
Secondary school	22
Higher education	-
Total	24

Table 9 Percentage of housewives according the level of income of the household

Monthly income of the household	Housewives %
Up to 150 contos	29
150 to 250 contos	33
250 to 350 contos	9
350 to 550 contos	9
More than 550 contos	26
Total	24

In other words, the better the education, the less the probability of being a housewife. But this relationship is not exactly the same for income. Though housewives are more predominant in lower income sectors, there are actually more housewives in sectors with higher incomes than in the intermediate sectors. More income, together with less schooling and a sense of responsibility for the education of the children, could make participation in a professional activity which very unlikely to lead to a career far less motivating.

4.2 The wish to reconcile paid work and family life

Opinions expressed about paid female employment lead to the conclusion that women aim to fully articulate professional and family activities. In fact, the answers given showed no sign of a preference for the essentially maternal function of women with small children, as found in other countries (Kunzler, 1995). In addition, it is also true that in Portugal, the rapid growth of the female activity rate cannot be explained only by economic factors. Although they are important, as shown by low male wages, it will be seen that there are other aspects which contribute towards explaining female entry into the labour market professionalisation.

By seeking to find out about opinions on the sexual division of paid and unpaid work within the family context, it can be seen that, in general, ideal terms, most of the people studied agree with a symmetrical model. In fact, 58% said that “the ideal in the family is for both the man and the woman to have paid work outside the home and for both to look after the children and share the housework”⁵³. Considering only the answers from people who have a job, it was the mainly women who defended this position (67% compared 55% of men). On the other hand, it was the men who said more that “the ideal in the family is for the woman to have a job which is less absorbing than that of the man, thereby enabling her to provide most of the care for the children and do most of the housework” (men 33%; women 25%). Only 10% of the people studied felt that “the ideal in the family is for only the man to work and for the woman to take care of the house and the children”, and it was mainly the men who defended this model the most (men 12%; women 8%).

According to the results obtained, it is also seen that the attitude of a family model for the division of work which is more or less asymmetrical is associated with sectors in specific situations in terms of economics, schooling and occupation. Therefore, in the case of women, the defence of the symmetrical model can be found in the better educated sectors (from

⁵³ This same tendency was found in other research projects in Portugal in which it was clearly found that a significant number of Portuguese people agree with the symmetrical model for the family and marriage. The results indicated that 78.6% of women and 55.8% of men agreed with the symmetrical model. The same question was asked in Loures in research on young people (Almeida, J. F., et al., 1996), and the results were even more significant: 87.1% of young girls and 74.2% of the young boys chose the symmetrical model. Also note that our sample only included people with children, a fact which may explain values for the acceptance of total symmetry which were lower than those found in those studies. Cf. Results of the research “As classes Médias Urbanas em Portugal – Recomposição Social e Mudança Cultural” carried out between 1987 and 1989, within the framework of the Instituto de Ciências Sociais, financed by the Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, quoted in J. Ferreira de Almeida, in collaboration with António Firmino da Costa, *Valores e Representações Sociais (Portugal – Os Próximos Vinte Anos, VII vol.)*, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1990.

secondary to higher education), among the *intellectual professions* (89%), *intermediate technical professions* (85%) and *production workers* (70%); the attenuated model is defended more in professional sectors such as *administrative staff* (41%), *commercial and services staff* (32%), *directors and executive staff* (22%), *unskilled workers* (26%) and in sectors with elementary or even secondary school education; finally, the defence of the traditional asymmetrical model, is found simultaneously in the more underprivileged groups with less economic and educational capital, such as *unskilled workers* (17%) and among those with financial capital but possibly with less education such as the *directors and executive staff* (11%), (Viegas et al., 1998).

4.3 Reasons for female participation past and present

Ideas which are so favourable to full equality between men and women can be explained on two clearly articulated levels: ideas past and present; practices and objective situations.

Firstly, before 25th April 1974, Portugal was a country which was dominated politically by old-fashioned ideas about the family and woman's place in society. The revolution of 25th April represented a significant turning point on this level: autonomy the freedom to choose, and the need for financial independence opposed views of women in the home and the family which were overcharged with ideas of a sacrificed, victimised dedication. Though these ideas began to be questioned in various more educated sectors, particularly in the 60s, it was only after 1974 that they clearly began to lose their impact, with egalitarian ideas for men and women gradually gaining ground. It can be said that it is unpopular today to defend the idea that women should limit their activity to the family and the home. But though equality is the "appropriate" discourse for the present time, it will be seen clearly that this does not mean that it is actually applied in practice. On the other hand, though they are losing much of their influence, there are still localised traditional views. But let us briefly analyse other objective, economic factors which may have contributed to egalitarian ideology.

In the more underprivileged sectors, the indirect effect of the phenomenon of emigration meant that a more active role was played by women. The women who stayed behind had to take decisions on their own, deal with new situations, take action, organise and

manage family life, and enjoyed a certain amount of freedom. The women who left with their husbands learned about other realities and it was harder for them to accept their former subjection, if they returned. The development of a more active role for women, though due to the force of circumstances and the knowledge of other worlds, thus contributed to creating a new image of female competencies outside the home (Torres,1995).

The colonial war from 1962 to 1974 brought some changes in other more educated social sectors. The relative economic boom of the end of the 50's had created jobs for middle and higher management posts, but the colonial war and compulsory military service delayed the entry of young men in working life for four years, if it did not force them to leave the country or make other changes⁵⁴. On the other hand, young women who were university students or had completed secondary school education, had already met their potential spouses either when they finished their courses just before they went to war, or during the war. Moreover, they had opportunities for to take compatible jobs in the civil service, teaching and even companies. They felt they had to wait too long for the men to come back and the possibility of occupying their time and earning money was attractive. These opportunities were therefore seized by some of these young women. Once they had entered the world of work they rarely left it again. In these social sectors, the compatibilisation of family and working life was also already supported by cheap and abundant domestic help⁵⁵. With the 25th April Revolution, the situation changed, but not sufficiently to make the situation regress, and the ideology of women's autonomy and independence was even reinforced.

The demultiplied effects of these experiences are vaster than they would appear at first. On the one hand, there is the well known role of what are called the urban middle classes as disseminators of new ideas which are eventually adopted even by those with fewer conditions to put them in practice (Almeida, J. F., 1990). On the other hand, there can be more long-term consequences. The conclusions of various research projects carried out suggest the importance of the transmission of behaviour from one generation to another, showing that the professional activity of mothers have undeniable effects on the entry of their children in the labour market. Furthermore, these effects are reinforced more according to the academic level

⁵⁴ Completing higher education did not mean they did not have to do compulsory military service - it only delayed it.

⁵⁵ In the 60's, with the decline of agriculture and the migratory movements of the population to other countries and to the big cities, there was a great increase in unskilled female workers used for domestic service.

achieved by the mother⁵⁶. From this perspective, particularly in the Greater Lisbon area, participation in the labour market by young people who have completed secondary and higher education in the 60's and 70's may contribute towards explaining the present high levels of participation by young Portuguese women (Guerreiro e Romão, 1995)⁵⁷ – some of whom would certainly be their children – in higher education, even in traditionally masculine sectors⁵⁸, and their tendency to want to fully reconcile professional activity with family life⁵⁹.

In other social sectors with a larger population, factors can be found which also contribute to explaining the high rate of female activity. Research carried out in Portugal which, among other objectives, sought to use the interview technique to analyse the relationship between married life and work, shows that, even in the most under-privileged groups, when fairly unskilled work is carried out, female employment does not just mean economic survival. There are various aspects which women value in paid work: greater autonomy and power in their married life, sociability and an escape from the prison of housework, these factors of identity being the result of the social recognition of their competencies and the possibility of consumption and less limiting life styles (Torres, 1995:186).

Of course, it could be said that this type of appraisal makes a virtue out of necessity, particularly in the more underprivileged sectors. But it seems to be more than that. Life paths are also important. In many cases, these women feel that they have progressed and that their life has changed when they compare themselves with their mothers, remembering the difficult economic conditions and sometimes mistreatment by men that no one dared to question at that time. In fact, though asymmetries persist in the family context nowadays, the environment is more democratic and masculine domination is less oppressive. The direct and indirect contribution of women towards the support of the family contributes to this improved atmosphere. But it will be seen that this is not yet sufficient to impose a more symmetrical

⁵⁶ Authors such as Louis André Vallet, Claude Thelot and François de Singly quoted by Martine Segalen (1993:194), consider that professionalisation models are inherited. According to Vallet, the destinies of daughters depend more on the maternal than on the paternal position, that is, when mothers work their daughters are much more likely to do the same. Thelot and Singly, in their turn, show that the more educated the mothers are, the greater the probabilities of their children getting further in their profession.

⁵⁷ In 1991, of all young university students aged between 20 and 24, the proportion of young women was 16% compared to about 11% of young men.

⁵⁸ The rate of female participation was high even in the sectors which have traditionally been dominated by men, such as medicine. In the Medical Faculty of Lisbon, women accounted for 57% of the students registered in 1989/90 and 63% of graduates in 1989 (André, 1993).

⁵⁹ Research on young people in the municipality of Loures found that 87% of women defend total symmetry between men and women for work and sharing the housework (Torres, 1996).

division of family responsibilities. Life goes on the same as if it were still necessary to pay the price of this greater relative autonomy. This price is paid through overwork, a double working day or worries and feelings of guilt, as will be seen later.

Therefore, considering the women concerned and the consistency of the factors referred to, there do not appear to be conditions to support an attitude which exclusively values the respective role of mother and housewife, even in the phases of the life cycle when the children are small. But, for different reasons, this is also the case for men, particularly men who are more reticent about accepting equality. They cannot support this attitude because they do not have the economic conditions to assume its consequences.

4.4 Tired and guilty parents

The research also sought to discover people's attitude to the relationship between work and family life. They were asked to express how far they agreed with a varied range of questions about their professional activity or family life. The answers leave no room for doubt to conclude that it is a difficult relationship. The choices made between these two statements are shown in Table 10.

Table 10 The answers of the people studied who have a job (in percentage)

	I agree		I partly agree		I disagree		I partly disagree	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
My work is very tiring and I don't have any patience when I get home	37	41	35	37	18	15	10	7
My children deserve more attention than I can give them	53	62	21	16	15	18	11	4

If the agreements of the women are added up, 78% say their jobs are tiring and 79% say that their children deserve more attention than they are able to give them. For the men the result is 72% and 74% respectively for the same choices. Father's and mother's are both tired by their work and feel guilty about the fact that they do not give as much attention to their children as they think they should, but mothers are affected even more. Also of note is the fact that total

agreement with the idea that children deserve more attention than they probably receive is emphasised more by the women than by the men.

It is also found that a set of variables has an effect on the distribution of opinions. For example, the number of children clearly causes a variation of the declaration, “my children deserve more attention than I can give them”. 90% of the people who have four children agree totally or partially with this statement, and 62% and 68% respectively of the people with one and two children assume identical positions.

Levels of income, types of profession and education also produce different answers. Distinctions introduced by income can be seen to articulated with distinctions by sex. Therefore, more men fully agreed about work being tiring in the higher income groups (44% agreed, for an average of 34%), followed by the lower income groups (37% agreed). The intermediate sectors tended to partially agree with this idea more – 53% of those with an income of between 350,000 and 550,000 escudos partly agreed with this idea compared to an average of 31%. The distribution of attitudes was different for women. Total agreement was concentrated in the lower income group (44% for an average of 35%) with less significant values in the high and intermediate levels, while partial agreement was more common in these income sectors. In terms of education levels no differences were noted between men and women. Both sexes agreed with the idea that work is tiring particularly among elementary schooling sectors. Better educated men and women tended to agree partially.

The combination of the two variables of income and schooling becomes clearer by analysing answers according to the occupation of the people studied. In fact, more men and women agree with the idea of being tired at work among manual or *unskilled workers*, groups which normally have less schooling and low incomes. But it is also the women in the *intellectual and scientific professions and directors* and *executive staff* who agree most with these statements; in their turn, men from the *intellectual and scientific professions and technicians* tend to partially agree with the same idea. It is seen, therefore, that in the former case, it is probably due to the physical hardness of the work in question, and in the latter case, the expression of tiredness may be associated with the greater dedication, effort and total availability which are often required by these professions.

But in spite of being though it is among the people with higher incomes, and academic and professional skills that the difficulties of reconciling family life and work are found to be related to greater professional requirements, it is also true that the range of childcare solutions

available to them is also much wider. In the middle income sectors, among people with secondary schooling and non-manual sub-ordinate occupations another situation is found. Though, on the one hand, there are fewer requirements in terms of occupation and career performance, which usually means it may be easier to manage their daily affairs, on the other hand, the financial effort required of these families to pay for childcare is often a burden which is often too heavy for their budget.

Attitudes towards the attention that children deserve are also distributed in a differentiated way. Though differences between the sexes are not very significant, it was the women working in occupations involving great effort and dedication and with higher incomes, or in unskilled professions which are harder and not so well paid, who said they do not give enough attention to their children.

These data clearly show the difficulty of reconciling family and professional life, we have been analysing from the childcare angle. Though this is a common problem in other European countries, in Portugal, and particularly in the Greater Lisbon area, it has specific implications due, as said before, to the three-fold scarcity of services, family support and low average incomes. Low incomes often lead to overwork to cope with family expenses. We think that these are the factors which contribute most to explaining such obvious declarations of tiredness.

The guilt, also emphasised by the people studied, was because they felt they did not give their children as much attention as they should. Though this can also be explained by what was said above, there are also other factors which may contribute to reinforcing this feeling even more. Though children's socialisation is shared more between the family and the different educational institutions, this does not mean that they see their activity or responsibility as restricted. In fact, in the last 30 years, the family's socio-educational tasks have become more complex and intense (Kellerhals et al., 1984:12 e Segalen, 1993). The importance of academic success and extra-curricular activities for the child's well-being and particularly for what is considered a better future, involve paying attention to and following the children's school work, and continuous journeys to take them to their many different activities. Though, this situation may be experienced as a constraint by all because of the work situations described earlier, for others it becomes a real nightmare. With strict working hours which cannot be altered in some jobs, daily life becomes a constant rush, and they feel either generally unwell or that they are permanently neglecting their duties. Though these difficulties

are experienced by both spouses, for the women there is still an additional effective overload of occupation and preoccupation. Does the children's well-being not depend on the well-being of the parents?

5. Unequal division of unpaid work: women overburdened

In addition to professional work, another dimension which the research sought to study was the way men and women divide unpaid work – housework and the care of the children. It was found that, as already shown by other research (Infante, 1988; Costa, 1991; André, 1993), whether or not they work outside the home, it is the women who continue carry out the essential housework and childcare tasks. Men's participation only exceeds 50% in administrative tasks, such as paying bills and dealing with taxes, or the repair and maintenance of the car, while for women the modal values are between 75% and 100% in all other tasks.

Moreover not only are more tasks performed by women, but they are ones which require more time and daily availability – such as preparing meals, feeding and taking care of the children, looking after the house, etc. The sharing of domestic chores and the care of the children is therefore far from being egalitarian. Table 11 shows the averages obtained when men and women who have jobs are considered separately from housewives for answers on what they say is their participation in the different tasks.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ The answers of the people studied about the participation of the spouses show that, in relation to the men, the women said that the men participate much less than the men said they did.

Table 11 Answer to the question “at home, how are the domestic chores and the care of the children usually divided? Indicate who does what and what percentage?” (average values in percentage)

Chores	Men who have a job	Women who have a job	Housewives/husbands
Preparing meals	21	68	89
Washing the dishes	22	61	90
Taking care of the clothes (washing, ironing)	9	69	95
Cleaning the home	15	58	84
Doing the shopping	36	67	66
Dealing with the accounts, insurance and taxes	69	53	50
Repairs, maintenance of the car, gardening, etc.	74	23	17
Playing with the children	37	50	49
Feeding the children	23	52	68
Taking the children to school (nursery school, crèche, childminder, etc.)	27	52	48
Taking the children to the doctor	31	78	84
Helping the children to do their homework	22	41	47
Taking care of old people or the sick at home	7	11	11

Note that male participation, which is always in the minority except for the areas indicated above, is nevertheless a little more important for “shopping” and recreational activities with the children. It was possible to see that help from outside the household – from family members or domestic employees – was not very significant. In terms of childcare, in addition to the work of the spouses, support from another family members is of little importance (about 5%), and domestic employees even less. The family give support for housework in about 7% of cases. The contribution of domestic employees towards the housework is more important, particularly for cleaning the home and the clothes – 13% and 10% respectively.

When some variables are crossed, certain indicators change slightly without changing, however the general tendency towards excessive female work. As an example, as seen in Table 12, the participation of men in housework and childcare increases a little according to their level of education. But the situation is different for the women. The work done by women with elementary and secondary schooling is not very different, and in fact the latter group say that they work slightly more than the former. Women with higher education participate less; but it is mainly the increased use of domestic employees which compensates the decreased participation of women. In fact, in the households where women have completed higher education, it is the domestic employees who carry out tasks like cleaning the house (38%), looking after the clothes (32%) washing the dishes (16%) and even preparing meals (14%).

Table 12 Answer to the question “At home, how are the domestic chores and care of the children usually divided? Indicate who does what and what percentage?” (average of the answers of all the people studied, with or without a professional activity - in percentage)

Chores	Men					Women			
	Education	Ele.	Sec.	High.	Tot	Ele.	Sec.	High.	Tot
Preparing meals		19	24	28	22	75	79	66	74
Washing the dishes		14	31	33	23	72	74	58	69
Taking care of the clothes (washing, ironing)		8	13	15	11	83	78	57	76
Cleaning the home		13	23	18	17	72	69	45	65
Doing the shopping		32	41	43	36	66	66	66	66
Dealing with the accounts, insurance and taxes		67	74	71	70	50	59	47	51
Repairs, maintenance of the car, gardening, etc.		72	77	67	72	16	29	27	21
Playing with the children		36	42	43	39	47	55	54	50
Feeding the children		18	28	27	23	53	67	55	56
Taking the children to school (nursery school, crèche, childminder, etc.)		21	31	42	28	45	61	53	50
Taking the children to the doctor		25	42	36	32	80	82	77	80
Helping the children to do their homework		25	27	25	25	43	45	42	43
Taking care of old people or the sick at home		5	7	14	7	10	15	13	12

Surveys using qualitative techniques help to understand this problem better (Torres, 1996a). Though it is the women who continue to do most of the housework and take care of the children, the comparison between the different generations indicates some weakening of traditional sexual roles. Compared to past generations, the present generation of men tends to participate a little more in this type of work. But in fact, these general attitudes and good intentions far exceed what actually happens in practice.

These conclusions, which confirm what has been shown in various countries, are revealing. They show the persistence of different forms of discrimination against women and prove that it is the women who have gone into what used to be considered male areas rather than the men who have gone into areas considered feminine. But the insistence on factors of discrimination still has other effects. In fact, the “negative” relationship which may be established between failure to share housework and care of the children and other dimensions of married and family life is long known. The results of research carried out since the 60’s in various countries such as Belgium, France and also the USA, suggest a unanimous conclusion: marriage is more satisfying the more housework and care of the children are shared (Michel, 1983: 238-239).

5.1 Evaluation of the fairness of the division of housework and care of the children

Above it was seen that when asked about their attitudes towards the division of paid and unpaid work most of the people studied defended the ideal of the symmetrical family where both the man and the woman are active professionally, and both share the housework and the care of the children. Leaving the professional dimension now and focusing exclusively on the division of household chores and care of the children, the research sought to discover people's subjective evaluation of the fairness of this division in their concrete cases, and what would be the ideal norm for them.

It can be said that for both housework and care of the children, total symmetry between men and women – “dividing tasks equally” – is considered more appropriate by the majority of men and women (68% for care of the children and 63% for housework). The women are slightly more in favour of this norm of equality than the men, particularly when they work professionally and even more so when the care of the children is concerned. Following total symmetry is the defence of an attenuated form of asymmetry, shown by defending the idea that “women do the most essential work and the men help”. About 34% of working men defended this asymmetrical position for the housework, compared to only 28% of women in the same situation. There is an even greater gap between percentages for dividing the care of the children. Only 21% of the women defended asymmetry compared to 31% of the men.

These differences between men and women were even more accentuated when analysed considering the level of education and occupation of the people studied. The idea of symmetry for both the care of the children and for the housework was defended much more as the people's level of education increased, and the option of the asymmetrical position decreased. For example, when asked about housework, 53% of the people who had only completed elementary schooling defended symmetry, while 42% also supported asymmetry. Those who had completed secondary schooling repeated the choice of the average values, and those with higher education accounted for 83% of the people who defended total symmetry and only 17% defended asymmetry.

Significant differences were also found for occupations. The manual workers and commercial and services staff defended symmetry slightly more than asymmetry for the care

of the children and the housework, but still supported asymmetrical positions much more than the others (about 40%).

It is seen, therefore, that defending asymmetry is not really a totally consistent view. Though it is true that the norm of equality was defended by the majority, in a way it was the more numerous categories of the population that defended asymmetry more. This may contribute towards explaining, at least in part, why there was such a great contrast between the real division of tasks and care of the children, and the ideal norm. The fact that women did almost all the unpaid work, particularly in certain social sectors, can be explained by the fact that in reality they think it is their obligation and that the men only have to “lend a hand”. It is more a case of defending an attitude, a favourable feeling than really thinking that they ought to be responsible or really perform these tasks.

It is found that the majority consider the way the care of the children was divided between spouses to be fair or very fair, though more men than women said so. In fact, though 60% of the women thought this division was fair, 36% thought it was unfair or very unfair and only 21% of the men said the same, while 74% said that this division was fair. The variations introduced by differences in income, level of education and occupation, were slight and not very significant.

More women saw the division of housework as unfair: 40% said that this division was very unfair (9%) or unfair (31%). Only 27% of men defended the same position. Therefore, though the majority defended the fairness of the existing situation once again, more women declared their discontent. No significant differentiation was found when other variables were crossed. But it is immediately possible to see from the different declarations of men and women that a substantial group of women were discontented with the contrast between the ideal norm and the reality which was experienced. Though the group of women was identified above who, at first sight, did not appear to defend asymmetry, in the end they did so with a slight attenuation of the ideal norm, another group was found here which defended symmetry as an ideal and expressed their discomfort with the asymmetrical situation in which they lived. This effect was clearer for housework than for the care of the children.

5.2 Sharing family responsibilities causes conflict between the spouses

The research also sought to find out whether the division of housework and care of the children could cause conflict between spouses. A series of questions on possible conflict between the spouses showed that 37% of the people studied said there was sometimes or often conflict over the housework and 28% said the same about the care of the children. But when the population was divided by sex, something that would seem surprising at first considering what has been said up to now emerged. In fact, though more women than men declared that the existing division of tasks was unfair, more men declared that there was “sometimes” conflict over the care of the children and the housework. Could it be that they get more angry but do not want to say so for fear of giving a quarrelsome image of themselves rather than the idea of the pacifying woman? Or could it be that what is only a complaint for the women, is transformed into conflict for the men? Or could it also be that male guilt explains the declarations of conflict?

Let us take a better look. More declarations were made of conflict about housework than the care of the children, but in general, both for men and women, it was the people in the middle income sectors with secondary school education who said more often that there was conflict. Hypotheses to explain this fact may be related to the greater expectations of symmetry and equality of the women in these sectors, expectations which have been seen to be lower in lower income groups with less schooling, where traditionalist and conformist views of women are more prevalent⁶¹. Or there may be more conflict in the middle income than in the higher income sectors because, contrary to the latter, the former group would have the financial wherewithal to enable them to delegate the heavy, unpleasant household duties to other people.

The situation appears to go full circle. In reality, whether or not they work outside the home, it is the women who do most of the housework and look after the children. In the survey, most of them did not consider this to be an ideal situation, as most of them defended total symmetry for the care of the children (69%) and for the housework (63%). But only some of this majority considered their own situation to be unfair or very unfair in terms of the

⁶¹ It was precisely in the lower income sectors that a high percentage of housewives was found who have assumed the housework and care of the children as their responsibility and did not declare the existence of conflicts so easily.

way the care of the children and the housework were divided (35% and 39% respectively). Finally, even fewer declared that this unfairness sometimes or often caused conflict. Note that there was a fairly large sector of women who conformed to this asymmetrical situation. This conformity is probably because they know it is impossible to change their own daily situation. In fact, everything that has been emphasised here about the relationship between work and family life and women being overburdened with unpaid work, involve ways of organising social life and the division of work between the sexes which show discrimination against women. But because gender is a social category which involves the definition of social expectations, not only for women but also for men, they are also “obliged” to play certain types of roles. Though women accumulate professional and domestic work, as seen in the Portugal case, men often have to work many more hours than they normally would. Women who condemn themselves to doing the housework, correspond more and more to men who make “themselves” overwork to provide better living conditions for the family and keep their job. If more time is spent working, there will logically be less time for the family. This dilemma is difficult to resolve and is faced by everyone, as shown by the declarations which say that their children need more attention than they are able to give them.

It is concluded that the forms of relationship between work and family life represent more an adaptation to existing constraints rather than choices or real options. These would only be possible with a philosophy in which conditions for sharing responsibilities through the articulation of the rights of women, men and children were seen as a priority by the State and by society in general.

6. Values and education: the discourse of modernity

It would also be of interest to find out about the configurations of values associated with bringing up children and other aspects of family life. The analysis of answers to a series of questions focusing on these themes has shown that tendencies already shown in previous questions have been accentuated. While the majority thought it was important for children over the age of three to attend socio-educational services or supported symmetry between men and women before, now the same type of ideas was reinforced. In other words and despite some specific differences, preference was given to the so-called values of modernity.

It has been seen that the difference between what people say and what they actually do has to be emphasised, but the defence of a certain type of values is still a sign to be taken into account. The desire to be modern, which is typical of what are called the middle classes (Almeida, J. F., 1990) is in the Portuguese case common to other social sectors which appear to welcome these ideas, and more insistently so in the Greater Lisbon area.

It is possible to see signs of the confluence of different factors here. Processes of change in Portuguese society have taken place rapidly over a short period of time, and transformations resulting from the institutional breakdown of the 25th April revolution which opened the country up to new practices and new ideas. In addition to ideas in a strict sense, there is still the desire to change the living conditions of a country in economic difficulties, this desire meaning a desire for upward social mobility. All in all, these wishes may possibly bring what is called the “good pupil” effect, which shows that people want to be identified with modernity rather than actually being modern.

6.1 Instinct is not enough for bringing up and educating children

The people were asked a question about how to bring up and educate children, and had to choose between two statements (Table 13). It was found that the majority (57%) consider the acquisition of knowledge from specialised sources – books, doctors, psychologists, etc. – to be more important than aspects related to the mother’s “natural instinct”. These opinions were supported more by people with more schooling and, contrary to what might be expected at first, it was also the women who defended them slightly more.

Table 13 Opinions on children’s education

	Elementary education		Secondary education		Higher education	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
To bring up and educate children involves acquiring knowledge which should be obtained from specialised sources (books, doctors, psychologists, etc.)	44	46	60	70	84	76
To bring up and educate children is something any mother knows how to do, because mothers have a kind of natural instinct.	56	54	40	30	16	24
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

These data can be interpreted in various different ways. These attitudes show signs of modernity as it is understood by certain authors. In fact, they show a tendency to devalue “innate” knowledge and abilities which are deeply rooted in traditional logic and to invest much more in the specific competencies and abstract knowledge produced by specialised bodies (Giddens, 1991). But, by agreeing with the need to call on “other knowledge”, people also show an awareness of the limits of an individual’s self-governed knowledge. This means that, in a sense, they also reveal the uncertainties which are so typical of modern contemporary societies.

Again, it makes sense to remember what was said at the beginning about the changes which took place in one generation, or rather, the change from maternal socio-educational and childcare solutions to solutions outside the family. It is difficult for today’s parents to find references in the past to respond to such different contemporary realities. Because of this difficulty, people’s attention goes back to the knowledge of the specialists, and the need to share education with the institutions is emphasised. But it is also here that the uncertainty returns – specialists often fail to agree (Segalen, 1993), and the institutions find it difficult to meet the needs of the individual.

From another point of view, if the proposal of Kellerhals and Montandon on different educational styles (1991) is taken into account, it would be possible to say that representations in society are generally passing from the “maternalist” logic to a “contractualist” style of relationship between the family and the outside world – with other knowledge and other institutions. Later, it will be seen that, though the answers of the people studied show tendencies which are consistent with the complexity of the real situation, there are others which point in a different direction.

It remains to be seen why women tend to defend the idea more than men that bringing up and educating children requires more than what is called maternal instinct. Some hypotheses may be proposed. The first might be that the greater involvement of women in looking after the children means that, in the context of complexification referred to above, there is a greater awareness of the need to use the specific educational competencies of specialists. Another explanatory hypothesis may be related to the fact that the people studied are obliged to choose one out of two possible answers, emphasising the fact that reacting negatively to the idea of the maternal instinct is the only key to successfully educating children. And supporting this hypothesis may be the fact that women tend to defend what are

called “modernist” attitudes more than men, as will be seen later.

6.2 Teaching rules through dialogue

When asked about the way to educate and teach rules to children, 91% of the people studied considered that “the best way is dialogue and example” and only 9% considered that “discipline and authority are indispensable for teaching rules to children”. This overwhelming unanimity of a “persuasive” style of inculcating rules rather than a basically authoritarian logic is another sign of modern discourse. Though it is not possible to establish direct equivalence by relating these answers to the styles of influence and discourse on authority identified by Kellerhals and Montandon (1991:91-133), it appears to be a style which is clearly more “relational” than “disciplinary” and a form which is “persuasive” or “structuring” rather than the “coercive” form suggested by those results.

The rejection of the authoritarian perspective leaves no room for doubt. Would this be more significant because answers from the Greater Lisbon area are being analysed, as other results tend to indicate? Tendencies have already been found for the sex and schooling variables. The more education a person has had the more they defend dialogue as a way of teaching rules rather than discipline and authority, and the differences between men and women are not significant.

The answers to a question on how much autonomy children should be allowed suggest the opposite of the results obtained for the two previous questions. In fact, the majority of the people studied (55%) answered that “children should always respect the advice and guidance of their parents” against 45% who chose the attitude that “children have the right to personal autonomy and their own choices”.

Though the population is clearly divided, these are perspectives which are generally more conformist and less modernist in terms of education than those previously detected. In addition to very obviously showing differences among the people studied, the crossing of variables such as schooling and sex, brings the tendency of the previous answers once again.

People with elementary schooling assume the conformist position much more, while those with secondary school and higher education do much less. Women tend to defend their

children's autonomy a little less than men in the sectors with elementary and secondary schooling, the tendency being inverted slightly for those with higher education.

Nevertheless, in terms of general values, the slightly dissonant tendency of the majority in relation to what has been considered a modernist type of discourse by the people studied, may be one of the effects of a special combination of modernity with the tradition which appears to persist in Portugal (Almeida, A. N., et. al, 1998).

But another technical factor may have also contributed towards explaining this choice. It is probable that, when the people studied interpreted this question, they were not thinking about children at an age when autonomy is possible, which was the intention of the research, but were thinking of their own children at their present age of under ten. In fact, in the order of the questionnaire, the previous question, which focused on ways of teaching rules, referred specifically to children. The fact that the differences introduced by the variable of level of education were so drastic may reinforce this explanatory hypothesis.

6.3 Good manners, a sense of responsibility, tolerance and being a hard worker as basic qualities to be transmitted to children

The people studied were presented a list of attitudes and qualities which can be taught and transmitted to children at home, and were asked to indicate the one they considered to be the most important. This question is also included in surveys carried out at international level and their results make comparisons possible both with other countries and on a national level.

In general terms, choices clearly fell on four aspects: firstly, *good manners*; secondly, *sense of responsibility*; thirdly, *tolerance* and finally, in fourth place, *being a hard worker* (Table 14). Emphasis is therefore placed on qualities and attitudes which are related both to the values of personal autonomy (sense of responsibility and tolerance) and to conformity (good manners, being a hard worker). These choices, though specific in some ways, bring the answers from the Greater Lisbon area closer to the answers from other European countries which, in a way, singles out this region in the national context (Almeida, A. N. e Guerreiro, 1995).

Also crossing the answers obtained with the academic level of the population studied, results were obtained which reinforce what had already been found in other answers, or rather,

a positive correlation is established between a better level of education and valuing “modernist” positions, which, in this case, were associated more with the defence of personal autonomy.

Table 14 The most important attitudes and qualities (first answer) which can be taught to children at home according to level of education (in percentage)

	Elementary education	Secondary education	Higher education	Total
Independence	11	11	10	11.0
Being a hard worker	24	9	6	16.7
Good manners	28	16	9	21.3
Sense of responsibility	13	27	29	19.7
Imagination	-	1	3	0.8
Tolerance and respect for others	12	23	34	19.3
Being careful with money and other things	1.5	1	1	1.2
Determination and perseverance	1.5	1	1	1.2
Religious faith	0.4	1	1	0.6
Generosity	2	1	4	2.0
Obedience	6	9.5	3	6.1
Total	100	100	100	100

Isolating the three answers chosen most often, it was found that the people with less schooling refer more to the importance of the teaching of *good manners*, and people refer to it less the more educated they are. People with secondary school education refer most to the importance of a *sense of responsibility* and *tolerance and respect for others* in its turn is the modal choice for those with higher education.

This distribution may be explained if an effort is made to understand the position of the people who choose the statements. In fact, it is plausible, that for the better educated, it may not make sense to bring aspects such as *good manners* into their children’s education, as it might be presumed that they have already been incorporated. On the other hand, this type of quality may be considered important for those with less schooling who feel it is necessary for their children to have more than they did. And, in fact, results of other research show that less educated parents tend to value instrumental dimensions of the personality, as if the success of the child depended on good socio-cultural integration (Kellerhals and Montandon, 1991). In the same way, qualities such as *being a hard worker* and even a *sense of responsibility*, may be valued by people who want their children to be upwardly mobile socially, which may the

case of those with either elementary or secondary schooling. For those who are better educated, it is as if their priorities in terms of choices were made considering self-regulation and autonomy to be fundamental, which has already been seen in previous answers, or intrinsic qualities, which are valid in themselves, independently of any instrumental logic.

7. SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL AND CHILD CARE STRATEGIES - CONCLUSION

In an attempt to sum up the general lines of this research, it would appear to be possible to present some general conclusions.

It has been seen that the existence of different socio-educational and child care solutions was the initial hypothesis of the research. This prediction was confirmed and clarified during the research by factors which may contribute towards explaining these different choices. Therefore, factors such as the supply and cost of services for children, the income of the families and the ability of the same to mobilise support networks, the position of the members of the domestic group on paid and unpaid work, the sharing of family responsibilities between the couple, ideologies, opinions and values with respect to maternity and child care, condition the strategies adopted by families. The decision not to work professionally for a certain period of time, to place a child with a childminder close to home, to pay a high price for a nursery school or to depend on the help of the grandparents to take the children to school and bring them home, are differentiated situations which depend on the specific organisation of these factors in each case.

Therefore, it was possible to take these and other aspects and define three main groups of differentiated strategy for the division of work and socio-educational care of the children, which are called “*subsistence solutions*”, “*sharing solutions*” and “*selective solutions*” (Table 2).

Figure 1 Socio-educational and child care strategies - the conciliation of work and family life

Strategies	Child Care Solutions	Models of the Family/work relationship	Resources of the household
Subsistence	Parental (Mother): 0 - 2 years old Institutional: 3 - 5 years old Parental (Mother): 6 – 10 years old	Domesticity of women due to necessity or double professionalisation; traditional asymmetrical model of the sexual division of work	Scarce economic resources and poor academic skills
Shared	Institutional (every age)	Double professionalisation; attenuated asymmetrical model of the sexual division of work	Average economic resources and poor academic skills
		Double professionalisation; attenuated model of the sexual division of work	Average economic resources and average academic skills
	Institutional (every age)	Double career; symmetrical/egalitarian division of tasks	Good economic resources and high academic skills
Selective	Parental (Mother): 0 - 2 years old Institutional: 3 - 5 years old Institutional: 6 - 10 years old	Double career or domesticity by option;	Good economic resources and average or poor academic skills

Therefore, in relation to the three types of strategy indicated above, it is considered that the families of the social groups characterised by scarce economic and cultural resources, occupying the lowest positions in the professional hierarchy and a large number of whom are in precarious positions in the labour market, tend to develop what are called “*subsistence strategies*”. Here, options for child care and the socio-educational care of children do not conform to defined choices but to circumstantial factors, or rather, they are conditioned by economic resources and by the opportunities which arise. Given the difficulty of finding services at costs which are compatible with the family income and the difficulties of integration in the labour market, parental solutions prevail in these groups, with the children staying with the mother during their infancy and at school age. Confirming this, it is found that it is precisely here that the highest percentage of domestic workers is located. There is, however, a small sector that has access to free services (totally financed by the State or offered by the IPSS), and can develop other kinds of strategy, thereby giving women the opportunity for integration in the labour market.

The families in the second group, which covers a wide social spectrum, are characterised by their tendency to adopt “*sharing strategies*”, or rather, to prefer services outside the family for the care and education of their children. This strategy permits the double professionalisation of the parents, with greater economic. But, within this group, emphasis should be put on the situation of the sub-group of families with fewer economic resources and fewer academic skills (very extensive in terms of percentage), for which the use of institutional solutions is an excessive burden for the family budget. The other two sub-groups referred to in the table presented, will have to deal with less difficulties in this respect due to fewer economic constraints and an attenuated or egalitarian model of work division. In the absence of a supply of public or state financed services they can use private profit-making services which are still very costly.

Only families with more economic resources are in a position to adopt “*selective strategies*”, or rather, to make real choices for the education and care of their children according to their idealised models. Nevertheless, these models differ according to whether they are intellectual and scientific personnel or entrepreneurs and trader groups. The first group, which is characterised by high level of educational capital, assumes more egalitarian models of the division of work, uses double career strategies and prefers private institutional solutions as a way to educate and prepare their children for the future. The second group,

frequently obeys a more traditional logic for the transmission of family capital, preferring the protection and education of the children in the family environment, particularly during the first few years.

It is therefore concluded that, in the Greater Lisbon area, resources outside the family such as crèches, childminders, nursery schools, kindergartens, extra-curricular school activities and leisure centres are predominantly used today for childcare when their mothers work. The poor provision of services, their high cost for the family budget, often forces them into overwork to cover expenses and daily costs and make them feel guilty about the care of the children and the attention they give them.

It is true that the measures that have been implemented in Portugal, such as the extension of the pre-school network, aim to respond, at least in part, to the questions that this research clearly reveals. But, on the one hand, services such as leisure centres or extra-curricular school activities for children over the age of 6 continue to be lacking. The same is true for crèches, with the work of training childminders and the development of family crèches, are also in short supply. On the other hand, the fact of using the IPSS's or the local authorities for setting up infra-structures of this nature, though not questionable in itself, may have some negative implications, as shown by the experience of other countries. Because the IPSS's depend on local initiative, it is necessary to take into account, as seen before, that these initiatives do not always appear exactly in the places where they are needed most. The local authorities face the problem of the three-fold scarcity of resources, the high cost of these infra-structures and electoral logic. In fact, experience has shown that, given the financial investment represented by these services, the local authorities prefer to develop less costly programmes which satisfy a large number of the electorate (Comaille, 1993). And as has been seen quite clearly, it will be difficult for the parents, particularly the mothers of small children, to find time to organise local initiatives or to pressure the authorities into taking measures which are favourable to them.

In conclusion, it can be said that, though very important, the problem of child care is not just the problem of the number, quality and cost of existing services. In addition to the pragmatic objective of ensuring that the supply of services responds to growing demand, families and governments are faced with basic problems such as the need to guarantee equal opportunities in the labour market, to guarantee the balanced psycho-social development of children, to achieve a balanced division of responsibilities between men and women for

bringing up children and to guarantee the more under-privileged better access to existing policies. As can be seen in the Tables which follow, measures of this type do not depend so much on financial resources, as the orientation of the different countries towards the role of the State and, above all, the conceptions which they develop about the different rights of individuals – men, women and children – and the way they are articulated.

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Figure 2 - Childcare models in the European Union according to the type of Welfare State

Model	Countries	Main Characteristics
Extended Welfare State	Denmark Finland	A high rate of female professional activity, even in the case of mothers with small children, and the public is very responsabilised for childcare; a universal system of social benefits (all children have the right to a place in a public institution); a great number of social policy measures which make it possible to compatibilise work and the family with a highly regulated labour market; concern both with the interest of the children (concern with the quality of services) and with the right of mothers to have a professional activity. In brief, the harmonisation of work and family is the main concern.
	Sweden	Welfare model similar to the above with the difference that the type of female professionalisation is characterised by a great number of women who work part-time.
	France Belgium	Welfare model similar to the Danish and the Finnish models, with the specific characteristic of social policies for the family, childhood and youth, and childcare services being somewhat more restricted (less universalisation of social rights and lower rates of cover).
Def. Welfare State	Spain Italy Greece	The model of the Southern countries is characterised by relatively low rates of full-time female activity without the career being interrupted for a long period, insufficient measures for social policy and childcare services which satisfy existing necessities, but within the framework of a concept of public responsibility in this area. The State establishes an interventionist concept, providing solutions and regulating the private sector in order to assure some social justice in terms of access to services. In general, the aim is to come closer (in more minimalist development) to the Extended Welfare State (e.g. the French), and female professional activity is encouraged, though family solidarity still appears to be important for childcare in the case of working mothers; the lack of services and subsidies very often obliges women to abandon their professional activity. Nevertheless, the existing services cover a greater number of hours than the Restricted Welfare State, making the conciliation of the family with work relatively better for women.
	Portugal	Portugal is a very special case in the south of Europe and is a separate sub-model in itself, given that, on the one hand, it is close to the southern countries in terms of the type of State intervention and the type of existing measures and services (either real, or desired as a political orientation); and, on the other hand, it has a profile of female activity which is similar to that found in the countries in the north of Europe, and is the country where women work more full-time. In this case, despite the difficulties people encounter, there is a practical and unavoidable need to reconcile the family and work, because with most women in the labour market, private solidarities begin to be questioned (who can stay at home with the children when the mothers and grandmothers work?).
Restricted Welfare State	Germany Austria Holland Luxembourg	This model tends towards a maternalist perspective, assuming that it is best for children to stay at home with their mothers; the State intervenes to guarantee mothers the possibility of staying at home without working by providing a vast range of subsidies and financing which guarantee this possibility, without great financial constraints for the families. In these countries, childcare is also difficult for children of school age, for school hours (even with possible extra-hours) do not coincide with working hours; this is why a high percentage of women with a professional activity work part-time. These systems include an important factor for gender discrimination, as they make women's access to a professional occupation more difficult.
	United Kingdom Ireland	This model is also based on maternalist assumptions, and female activity assumes a profile which is similar to the countries referred to above, but with the difference that the conception of obligations for the care and education of children as an essentially private matter, freely decided by the families which should find the solutions which serve them best; this model tends to reproduce and increase social inequalities. This does not mean that there are not some social measures and public childcare institutions, but there are less than in the other type of maternalist model (the German model). The relatively low employment rate among mothers is also a strong indicator of the difficulties of reconciling family life with employment.

Note: Table prepared by Sofia D'Aboim Inglez and Pedro Vasconcelos.

Figure 3 – Statutory Leave for Workers with Children⁶²

	ML	PatL	PL	LFR	Payment
Extended Welfare State					
DK	14 weeks	2 weeks	10 weeks, family entitlement ⁶³ + 3 months per parent (or 6 months if taken before child is 12 months) + another 6-9 months per parent with employer agreement.	None	All paid at flat rate.
SV	None	10 days	18 months per parent, including a family entitlement to 450 days of paid leave to be taken until child is 8 years and on full-time, half-time or quarter-time basis (30 of the 450 days is for the mother, 30 days for the father, the rest divided between the parents as they choose) + each parent may work reduced hours until the child is 8 years;	120 days per family per child up to age 12 years.	Payment is earnings-related, except for the last 90 days of paid PL where the payment is flat-rate, and PL over the 450 days of paid leave and reduced hours which are both unpaid.
SU	9,5-12,5 weeks	2 weeks	Until Child is 36 months, family entitlement + 1 parent may work reduced hours until the end of the year when child starts compulsory school;	4 days if the child becomes suddenly ill.	Payment is earnings-related, except for part of PL (after child is about 10 months) where the payment is flat rate and LFR which is unpaid.
FR	10-12 weeks (18-22 weeks for later birth)	3 days	Until child reaches 36 months, family entitlement;	3 days per parent (increasing to 5 if parent has child under 3 years or 3 or more children).	Payment for ML is earnings-related, PL is paid at flat-rate for parents with two or more children; PatL and LFR is unpaid.
BE	8 – 14 weeks	3 days	None; but universal system of 6-12 month ‘career breaks’ per worker subject to employer agreement available for any reason including care of young children;	10 days per parent (public), 4 days (private sector).	Payment for ML and PatL is earnings-related; ‘career break’ is paid at flat-rate. LFR is unpaid.
Def. Welfare State					
EL	7-11 weeks (18-22 weeks for third or later birth);	None	3 months per parent;	6-10 days per family depending on the number of children in the family.	Payment at full earnings; PL and LFR unpaid.
IT	12 weeks	None	6 months, mother’s entitlement which can be transferred to father.	Leave may be taken until a child reaches the age of 3.	Payment for ML at high earnings-related; payment for PL at low earnings-related; LFR unpaid.
PO	8,5-14 weeks	None	6-24 months per family	30 days leave per year if child under 10.	Payment for ML at full earnings. PL and LFR is unpaid.
ES	6-16 weeks	2 days	Until child is 36 months, family entitlement,	2 days per parent per illness.	Payment at full earnings except PL which is unpaid.
Restricted Welfare State					
NE	10-12 weeks	None	6 months per parent of part-time leave;	None	Payment for ML at full earnings; PL is unpaid.
DE	8 weeks	None	Until child reaches 36 months, family entitlement;	10 days per parent for 1 child, 25 days per parent if 2 or more children	Payment for ML and LFR at full earnings; payment for PL at flat-rate until child is 24 months and means tested.
OS	8 weeks (+extra for multiple/premature births)	3 days	Until child is 24 months, family entitlement, with 12 months part-time option;	2 weeks per parent.	Payment at full earnings, except PL which is paid at flat-rate, with supplement for single parents/low income families.
LX	8 weeks	None	None	None	Payment for ML at full earnings.
UK	29 weeks	None	None	None	Most of ML paid at low flat-rate or unpaid; short

⁶² **ML** = Maternity Leave (after birth); **PatL** = Paternity Leave; **PL** = parental Leave; **LFR** = Leave for Family Reasons

⁶³ ‘Family Entitlement’ means that the entitlement to leave is for the family, rather than being a separate entitlement for each parent, and may be divided between the parents as they choose.

					period paid at high earnings-related level.
IR	4-14 weeks	None	None	None	Payment for ML is earnings-related except for last optional 4 weeks which are unpaid.

Source: European Commission Network on Childcare and Other Measures to Reconcile Employment and Family Responsibilities (1996) *A Review of Services for Young Children in the European Union 1990-1995*.

Table – Parents activity and provision of publicly-funded services for children aged 0-10 years in European Union - 1990-1995

Model	Extended Welfare State					Def. Welfare State				Restricted Welfare State					
	Country	DK	SV	SU	FR	BE	EL	PO	ES	IT	NE	DE	OS	LX	UK	IR
% of employed mothers in full-time and part-time jobs with child aged 0-10 years – 1993 ⁽⁶⁴⁾	Total 74 FT 49 PT 25	Total 75 FT 35 PT 40	Total 65 FT 57 PT 8	Total 59 FT 40 PT 19	Total 62 FT 38 PT 24	Total 44 FT 41 PT 3	Total 70 FT 63 PT 7	Total 35 FT 29 PT 6	Total 43 FT 37 PT 6	Total 46 FT 6 PT 41	Total 51 FT 26 PT 25	Total 64 FT 40 PT 24	Total 42 FT 29 PT 13	Total 53 FT 18 PT 35	Total 35 FT 24 PT 10
% of employed fathers in full-time and part-time jobs with child aged 0-10 years – 1993 (1)	Total 88 FT 86 PT 2	Total 85 FT 82 PT 3	Total 80 FT 77 PT 3	Total 90 FT 88 PT 2	Total 92 FT 91 PT 1	Total 95 FT 94 PT 1	Total 95 FT 93 PT 1	Total 85 FT 84 PT 1	Total 93 FT 91 PT 1	Total 92 FT 85 PT 7	Total 92 FT 91 PT 1	Total 97 FT ? PT ?	Total 93 FT 93 PT <0.5	Total 84 FT 82 PT 2	Total 81 FT 78 PT 2
Employed mothers with child aged 0-3 years	70	...	...	52	62	40	69	33	42	45	40	...	...	44	38
Employed mothers with child aged 3-10 years	78	...	...	64	62	46	71	35	43	48	58	...	...	59	34
Hours usually worked per week (FT+ PT) by mothers	34	...	...	34.2	31.3	39.6	39.8	36.8	34.2	19.1	30.2	...	33	24.5	32
Hours usually worked per week (FT+ PT) by fathers	40.8	...	...	42	40.1	45.3	45.2	42.5	41.4	40.9	41.4	...	42.7	47	46
Provision of publicly-funded services for children aged 0–2 years	48	33	21	23	30	3	12	? ±2	6	8 ⁶⁵	2W 50E	3	...	2	2
Provision of publicly-funded services for children aged 3 –5 years	82	72	53	99	95+	70 ²	48	84	91	71 ²	78W 100E	75	...	60 ²	55
Provision of publicly-funded services for children aged 6-10 years	62 ⁶⁶	64 ⁶⁷	5 ⁶⁸	?±30	??	?<5 ⁶⁹	10	??	??	?<5 ⁶	5W 88E	6	...	?<5 ⁶	?<5 ⁶

⁶⁴ Except Austria, where information is for parents with children under 15 years; and Sweden, where information is for parents with children under 7 years.

FT = Employed full-time; PT = Employed part-time; ? = no information.

⁶⁵ Figure includes some children in compulsory schooling (ie. Where compulsory schooling begins before 6). The age of compulsory schooling is relevant because it affects the figures given for services for children aged 3-6 years. These services include: pre-primary schooling; early admission to primary school; and children attending compulsory schooling (in the case of countries where compulsory schooling begins before 6). However, the column for services for children aged 6-10 years does not include children in compulsory schooling; it is confined to services providing care and recreation to school-aged children.

⁶⁶ More all 6 years olds in pre-primary education.

⁶⁷ More some 6 years olds in pre-primary schooling.

⁶⁸ More 60% of 6 years olds in welfare and education system services.

⁶⁹ No information but under 5%.

Available subsidies to parents ⁷⁰	++	++	++	++	...	+	...	++	+	+	...
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Source: European Commission Network on Childcare and Other Measures to Reconcile Employment and Family Responsibilities (1996) *A Review of Services for Young Children in the European Union 1990-1995*..

BE=Belgium; DK=Denmark; DE=Germany; EL=Greece; ES=Spain; FR=France; IR=Ireland; IT=Italy; LX=Luxembourg; NE=Netherlands; OS=Austria; PO=Portugal; SU=Finland; SV=Sweden; UK=United Kingdom.

⁷⁰ In addition to subsidies paid direct to services: (+) subsidy available to lower income parents only; (++) subsidy available to some/all parents, irrespective of income.

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